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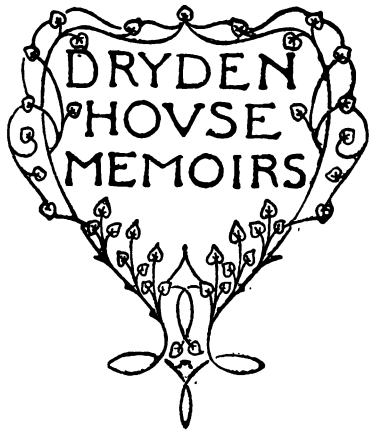
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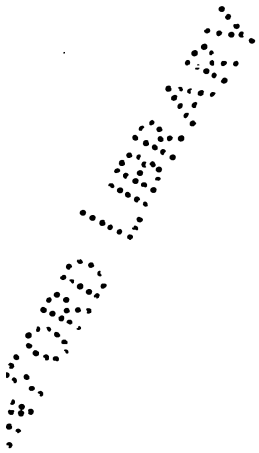

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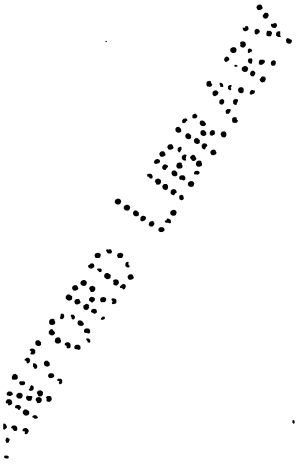

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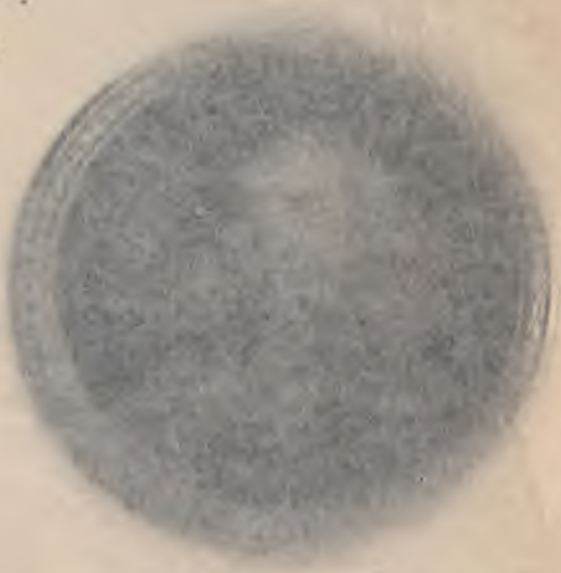

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# MEMOIRS AND TRAVELS

OF

# MAURITIUS AUGUSTUS COUNT DE BENYOWSKY

MAGNATE OF THE KINGDOMS OF HUNGARY AND POLAND, ONE OF THE CHIEFS OF THE CONFEDERATION OF POLAND ETC., ETC.

*Consisting of his Military Operations in Poland, his Exile into Kamchatka, his Escape and Voyage from that Peninsula through the Northern Pacific Ocean, touching at Japan and Formosa, to Canton in China, with an Account of the French Settlement he was appointed to form upon the Island of Madagascar*

WITH AN INTRODUCTION, NOTES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

BY

CAPTAIN S. PASFIELD OLIVER

# LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

PORTRAIT OF BENYOWSKY . . . . *Frontispiece*

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# INTRODUCTION

THE manuscripts of Benyowsky's *Memoirs* may be found in the British Museum, where they were deposited by the owners subsequent to their first publication in 1790. They had been purchased from their former possessor, M. de Magellan, F.R.S., who had advanced and lost a considerable sum of money towards the fitting out of Benyowsky's last expedition to Madagascar in 1784. The MSS. comprise four volumes in the French language, to each of which Benyowsky has appended his signature in witness of his responsibility for their contents.

The first thirty-eight folios give a brief account of Benyowsky's early life. This forms an introductory chapter, written in the third person, but it is none the less inspired by Benyowsky himself, whose actual journal—commencing on the 20th January 1770, and written in the first person—begins on the *verso* of the same folio which concludes the biographical notice.* It is necessary to state this somewhat emphatically, as some of Benyowsky's literary partisans have sought to exonerate the Count from his responsibility for the

* See *Notes and Queries*, 8th S., vi., Dec. 22, 1894, p. 483, arts. by L. L. Kropf, whose information on this subject is extensive.

statements made in this opening chapter, not a few of which are demonstrably irreconcilable with proved facts. Thus, the author makes the following statement regarding his own origin:—"The Count Mauritius Augustus Benyowsky, Magnate of the kingdoms of Hungary and Poland, was born in the year 1741 at Verbowa, the hereditary lordship of his family, situated in the county of Nittria, in Hungary. He was the son of Samuel, Count de Benyowsky, General of Cavalry, in the service of the Emperor, and Rosa, Baroness of Revay, Lady and hereditary Countess of Thurócz." But in reality, by the register of births at Verbó, it appears that he was born in September 1746; that his father was neither a count nor a general, but a retired colonel; that his mother was, in truth, a baroness by courtesy, but she was not an hereditary Countess of Thurócz, since, on the authority of Mr. L. L. Kropf, no such title has ever been known in Hungary. In fact, Benyowsky's diploma as Count was not given to him until April 3, 1773, by the Emperor Joseph II. of Austria.* The object of this falsification of the date of his birth in the *Memoirs* may easily be found. When Benyowsky reached the Isle of France, he addressed a letter to the Governor of the colony, showing how he had served as general in the service of the Empress Maria Theresa; and there is still in existence a certificate which he handed to the French authorities in Paris, giving the date of his birth in 1741. No doubt he also stated to them, as he stated later in his *Memoirs*, that he entered the army in the year 1755, when he was fourteen years old, whereas at that date he could only have been, in reality, nine years of age; also, that he was present as a lieutenant in the first battles of the Seven Years' War between 1756 and 1758, when he could only have been ten to twelve years old. It is not surprising,

* See Thallóczy, *Kereskedelem-Politikai Tervek*, pp. 9, 10.

therefore, that he would try to prove himself to be five years older than he really was, by falsification of his birth certificate.

As regards his campaign in Poland, Mr. Kropf, who has carefully investigated the subject, has detected several serious errors in Benyowsky's story: for instance, the Count declares that on August 22, 1768, he left Cracow, which he alleges was taken during his absence; but, according to the authorised version of Polish history, General Apraxin took the town during the night of August 17–18. Again, Benyowsky states that he heard of the fall of the fortress of Bar, the head-quarters of the federation to which he belonged, on November 29, although everybody else in Poland must have been in possession of that intelligence many months before, as Bar was taken by the Russians on June 9. Benyowsky also claims to have divided the credit of the defence of Zwanietz and the retreat across the Dniester with Casimir Pulawsky, whereas all the chronicles of the war have assigned the full honours of this operation to the latter well-known general, who was subsequently killed in the American War of Independence, and are wholly silent as to Benyowsky's deeds.*

The reader cannot fail to be interested by the Count's intrigue with Aphanasia, the beautiful daughter of Governor de Nilow, and her unhappy fate, which later inspired Kotzebue's famous play, *Graf von Benyowsky*; but his feelings will be spared needless pain when he learns, on the authority of a Russian editor named Berg, who had particular opportunities of investigation, that there is good reason for supposing that Miss Aphanasia de Nilow is a wholly mythical personage, or, if she ever existed in flesh and blood, she had never been present in Kamchatka, but remained behind in Yisiga, where her father had been previously

* *Notes and Queries*, 8th S., vii., Jan. 5, 1895, p. 5.

stationed before being ordered to Bolysheretsk.* Another author, Sgibnev, has published the official list of all the people who accompanied Benyowsky on board the *St. Peter and St. Paul*, in which no trace of anyone who could possibly be Aphanasia de Nilow can be found among the women therein enumerated.

In addition to Benyowsky's own journal of his voyage, there are in existence two other independent accounts of the route taken by the galliot *St. Peter and St. Paul.* One of them is written by three of the adventurers, viz., Ryumin, a clerk ; Sudeykin, Governor de Nilow's secretary ; and Botsharev, who had been forcibly carried away. The other is by Stephanov, formerly a captain in the Izmailov regiment of lifeguards, who, as may be seen in the *Memoirs*, accompanied Benyowsky to Kamchatka. He subsequently died at Batavia, where his diary fell into the hands of a resident named Metzlaer, who published it in Dutch. A German translation of it appears as an appendix in Dr. Ebeling's version of the *Memoirs*. All accounts agree in stating that Benyowsky left Kamchatka on May 12, 1771 (O.S.), but it is only in the Count's journal that any record is made of the alleged voyage to Bering's Straits, Alaska, and the Aleutian Islands, the description of which is wholly due to the author's imagination. From his fellow-travellers' diaries, it appears that, instead of sailing north towards the Arctic Circle, the *St. Peter and St. Paul* was at anchor in a bay of one of the Kurile Islands from May 18 to June 12 ; and from thence the course was directed at first towards the Marianne Islands, but, as fresh water and provisions began to run short, their direction was changed for the coast of Japan, which was reached on July 8 ; although, according to the *Memoirs*, Benyowsky names July 28 as the day on which he dropped anchor in a bay at Japan. Benyowsky, as before noticed, was wholly unscrupulous

* *Notes and Queries*, 8th S., vii., Jan. 26, p. 65.

in the matter of falsification of dates, such as was necessary in this instance to find time for the interpolation of his fictitious northern voyage and his discovery of the mythical Island of Liquor. Benyowsky's highly-coloured description of his reception by the Ulikamhy or king, in the many-pillared hall on the shores of the Bay Usilpatchar in Japan, to which he devotes several pages, is likewise pure invention. According to the accounts given independently both by Stephanov and Ryumin, the Count tried to land, but was prevented from doing so by the undisguised hostility of the people; and this is perfectly in accordance with what we know of the Japanese attitude towards all foreigners at that period. Again, Ryumin and Stephanov both concur in giving the day of their leaving Japan as July 12, a date which Benyowsky has falsified by a whole month, recording August 11 as the day of his departure. In like manner, there is a continued wide discrepancy in all the dates until, as the *Memoirs* relate, the *St. Peter and St. Paul* entered the harbour of Macao on September 22. The reader has only to turn to the entries which appear in the *Memoirs* relating to the visit at Formosa to observe how hopelessly the Count has confused his times, by including his adventures, which would seem to have occupied three whole days, within the space of twenty-four hours. Almost needless is it to remark that these adventures, and the whole conception of Prince Hapuasingo and his kingdom, with the Count's successful campaign against him, are mere figments of a romantic imagination.

Little need be said about Benyowsky's miserable Madagascar experiences. A few examples of his methods of altering facts may suffice, from which the truth of his narrative can be properly valued. On the 23rd February 1774, Kerguelen, with two French men-of-war, arrived opposite Benyowsky's settlement in Antongil Bay, in order to obtain fresh meat and

vegetables for his crew, who were afflicted with scurvy after long voyaging. The Count states that he gave them an abundant supply of refreshments, and later, on the 11th March, that he sent to them thirty oxen. But Kerguelen declares that it was with great difficulty he was able to get four oxen in two days from Benyowsky, and that there were no gardens in his settlement, from which the much-needed vegetables could be procured; he was able, however, by sending his boats on shore at some distance from the Count's headquarters, to purchase oxen readily enough from the natives, who were perfectly willing to trade with the French ships, and supply all that they wanted, although they would have no dealings with Benyowsky, whom they had named "le mauvais blanc." Again, Benyowsky reports how, on the night of March 14, he sent his major with a detachment of sixty volunteers in Kerguelen's boats against a camp of hostile natives; how his troops landed, attacked, drove out the enemy, and burned their village. Compare the version of Kerguelen!—

"When I was just preparing to leave, Baron Benyowsky wrote me a letter which M. de Marigny, his major, brought to me. After thanking me profusely for all the help which I had given him, he remarked that two warlike chiefs had come up on the previous evening, and fired some shots into his intrenched camp. Also that these chiefs had a strong stockade armed with small cannon at a league's distance, and that he feared an attack from them after I had left. He implored me, in short, to give him help, and to burn this village as soon as possible. I made the necessary dispositions, and in the night I disembarked eighty armed men. M. de Benyowsky had sent in my boats fifty of his volunteers, commanded by his major, but they were mere boys, blackguards, shoe-blacks of the Pont Neuf. They had not even landed when the whole village was

in flames. Our fellows had sprung on shore at once, and not finding anyone, had set fire to the houses everywhere." *

The whole of the description, which is to be found in the *Memoirs*, of the assembly of the Malagasy chieftains on the 16th August 1776, to declare Benyowsky to be the true inheritor of Ramini and to acknowledge him as Ampansacabe of the whole island, is absolutely in entire contradiction to what the Count himself stated to the Commissioners, MM. de Belcombe and Chevreau, in the following month, when they inquired why he had failed to send rice and oxen to the Isle of France.

"The wars which I have had to carry on against the islanders," said Benyowsky, "have deprived myself and still deprive me of provisions of the first necessity; how, therefore, could I possibly send supplies to the Isle of France? It is equally easy for me to justify the wars which I have undertaken. I assemble a palaver, I propose to the islanders dispositions which are advantageous for them; not only do they refuse, but their insolent chiefs even threaten me; they do more, the signal to kill me is given, several musket shots are at once fired. I escape as by a miracle from this imminent danger; vigorously supported by my soldiers, I disperse this multitude, and I terrify it by several cannon shots which I cause to be fired from the fort. I haughtily demand the heads of the chiefs who have dared attempt my life in the midst of a solemn assembly; they are refused. I summon to my assistance the Sambarives, islanders who inhabit the banks of the river Manaharre; five hundred of their warriors rally around my standards, and aid me to punish and subjugate my dangerous neighbours. Forced to ask for peace, the conventions of the treaty have been solemnly drawn up, and sanctioned in a great cabar, otherwise *palaver*. . . . These evils

* Kerguelen, *Relation de deux Voyages*, pp. 154–158.

are great; the country is devastated, of most of the villages nothing remains but heaps of ashes; the lands have remained untilled, and famine has been the necessary consequence of all these orders." * Such was Benyowsky's own statement as to his relations with the neighbouring tribes shortly before he left Madagascar. Yet previous to his arrival, as Kerguelen observes, at the head of Antongil Bay more numerous oxen were to be found than anywhere else in the whole island, with other supplies in abundance.

The *Memoirs* terminate with the Count's embarkation for Europe, in December 1776, two years and ten months after his first arrival in Antongil Bay; but his career had by no means come to an end. He returned unabashed to France, full of schemes, proclaiming his absolute power over the chiefs of the whole of the great African island, and ready to sell the sovereignty of the Malagasy nation to France or any other country which was willing to advance sufficiently large sums of money for the concession; but the French Government declined to enter into another engagement with him.

The editor of the *Memoirs* is unaccountably silent as to the proceedings of Benyowsky from the time of his return to France in 1777 until his embarkation at London in 1784; but information as to how the Count was employed during these seven years may be found in an article supplied by Louis Thallóczy to the *Nemzetgazdasági Szemle* ("National Economical Review"), vol. iii. (1879), pp. 192–222, entitled "Gróf Benyovszky Móricz és a magyar tengerparti kereskedelem első kezdetei" ("Count Maurice Benyowsky and the first Beginnings of the Commerce of the Hungarian Seaboard"), from which Mr. Kropf gives the following abbreviated abstract:—

"In 1777 Benyowsky petitioned Maria Theresa,

* *Voyages à Madagascar, à Maroc, etc.*, par Alexis Rochon, vol. i. pp. 240–242.

asking her pardon and leave to return home, and offering his services and experience acquired abroad for the development of the commerce of his native country. The amnesty was granted, and he arrived home.

"According to Thallóczy, Benyowsky was ill for six weeks during the summer of 1778, in 'Boulogne near Paris' (see his letter of July 12, in Jókai); but, by August 22, he had reached Strassburg, when the war of succession in Bavaria was already in full swing. Benyowsky's younger brother, Emanuel, was then serving in the 2nd Regiment of Carabineers, near Königgrätz. Here Benyowsky arrived in September; and, on the 26th of that month, he was appointed 2nd Colonel of the Székely Hussars. When the Colonel of that regiment retired on pension, on November 2, Benyowsky was promoted, as 1st Colonel, to the command of the regiment. He had already distinguished himself, according to his own account, by an advance he made towards Friedrichswald with two divisions of the Székely Hussars, when he had driven back the enemy on October 7, 1778. Also, when Wurmser attacked Hubelschwart and Ober Schwedeldorf, on January 18, 1779, Benyowsky states that he took 822 prisoners. It would have been more satisfactory had these statements appeared anywhere else than in Benyowsky's own letters. Benyowsky sent in his resignation, which Joseph II. accepted, on May 12, when he retired with the rank of full Colonel.

"Benyowsky had no money, and yet he managed to purchase Count Pongrácz's property at Vieszka. He began in 1778–79 to study the trade and oversea commerce of Fiume, and the means of communication with the inland provinces. When Kaunitz, the minister, heard of this, he asked Benyowsky to express an opinion about the Austrian navy and marine commerce. On May 20, 1780, Benyowsky submitted a memorial to

the Austro-Bohemian Court Chamber, which transferred it to the Hungarian Court Chancery.

"Maria Theresa died November 29, 1780, and her son, Joseph II., settled the matter. In December of that year Benyowsky had practically in his own hands the whole of the communications with Fiume, together with the trade, both inland and oversea, of that port.

"Benyowsky had no money, and what men he had, helping him in his undertaking, left him when their salaries remained unpaid. The traffic languished, whilst the authorities lost all interest, and Benyowsky had his head filled with fresh schemes; consequently his Fiume scheme failed disastrously. Benyowsky had to send in traffic returns; these were duly submitted, but were found hopelessly wrong in all figures.

"He had borrowed 30,000 florins from Count Czigala at an 11 per cent. per annum annuity, from Count Christopher Bartenstein 35,520 florins, and 5000 from others. Towards the end of 1781 Benyowsky got into great straits for money; his creditors were asking for the interest on their loans, his men for their salaries. Czigala became alarmed about his investment. Benyowsky applied to the Court for a loan of 30,000 florins as mortgage on his property; otherwise he would be obliged to stop his cartage business to Fiume. He already saw that his own country was not enterprising enough to carry out his large schemes. He resumed correspondence with his friends abroad about Madagascar; he wrote to the United States and to Court circles in England, paid no attention to his creditors at home, and handed over the Fiume undertaking to his partner, Joseph Marotti. At length he quitted Hungary, leaving a declaration behind in which he made his creditors a present of his property in the county of Trencsény."

Whilst on his way from Vienna to London, in 1783, Benyowsky made a final effort to approach M. de

Vergennes, Minister for Foreign Affairs to Louis XVI., who was the only person still in favour of colonisation in Madagascar, and the Minister, on being informed of Benyowsky's negotiations with the English, suggested to Maréchal de Castries, the then Minister of Marine, the re-employment of Benyowsky, but his advice was not listened to.

From London Benyowsky proceeded to Baltimore, whence he sailed in October 1784,* landing ultimately in Antangara Bay, near the northernmost point of Madagascar. Here many of his associates died of fever, but with the remainder he crossed the mountains to Angontsy, near East Cape, where he took possession of a French storehouse, and defended his position with a stockade. M. Mayeur having warned the Governor of the Isle of France, a vessel was despatched with troops against the adventurer, and anchored near Angontsy May 23, 1786. Captain Larcher at once landed, and, having been fired upon, advanced his company to attack the position. A well-directed volley was poured into the stockade, by which Benyowsky himself was killed on the spot. The site of his tomb is to be found on the banks of the river Andranofotsy, in Antongil Bay. Such was the unhappy end of this vain schemer and audacious adventurer.

* The avowed object of Benyowsky in this, his last voyage to Madagascar, was the supply of slaves to America, as appears by his contract with Messrs. Zollichoffer and Meissonier, who supplied the *Intrepid*, a vessel of some 500 tons, in which Benyowsky and his associates sailed from Baltimore. See *Thesis* of Prosper Cultru, pp. 78, 79.

S. PASFIELD OLIVER, *Capt.*

2*nd April* 1904.

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# THE
# MEMOIRS AND TRAVELS
OF THE
# COUNT DE BENYOWSKY

THE Count Mauritius Augustus de Benyowsky, Magnate of the kingdoms of Hungary and Poland, was born in the year 1741 at Verbowa, the hereditary lordship of his family, situated in the county of Nittria, in Hungary. He was the son of Samuel, Count de Benyowsky, General of Cavalry, in the service of the Emperor, and Rosa, Baroness of Revay, Lady and hereditary Countess of Thurocz. The early part of his life was employed in the course of education, studies and exercises which the court of Vienna affords to such of its vassals as are of illustrious families; and upon his arrival at the age of fourteen years he fixed his choice on the profession of arms. He was accordingly received into the regiment of Siebenschien, in quality of Lieutenant, and joined the Imperial army then in the field against the King of Prussia. The first battle at which he was present was that of Lobositz, on the 8th of October, 1756, under the command of General Brown; the second was that of Prague, on the 6th of May, 1757, under the Prince Charles of Lorrain; and the third was before Schweidnitz, on the 12th of November, 1757. In the following year, 1758, he had a share in the battle of Domstadt, under the command of General

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Laudon, after which period he received an invitation from his uncle, the Starost of Bieniowsky,* to repair to Poland, in order to secure the inheritance of his Starostie. He therefore quitted the Imperial service, and hastened into Lithuania, where he was acknowledged by his uncle as his heir, and succeeded him in the possession of his lands. His tranquillity was, however, interrupted by the sudden death of his father, and the intelligence he received that his brothers in law had taken possession of his inheritance. This unexpected catastrophe demanding his immediate presence in Hungary, he quitted Lithuania, with the sole view of obtaining possession of the property of his family; but on his arrival he found the whole in the hands of his brothers in law, who, by force, opposed his entrance into his own castle. In this conjuncture, attending only to the justice of his cause and the dictates of his vivacity, he repaired to Krussova, a lordship dependant on the castle of Verbowa, where, after having caused himself to be acknowledged by his vassals, and being assured of their fidelity, he armed them, and by their assistance gained possession of all his effects. His brothers in law, thus defeated in their usurpation, adopted the most atrocious expedient to compleat his ruin. For this purpose, they represented him at the court of Vienna as a rebel and disturber of the public peace; in consequence of which false information the Empress Queen issued a decree in Chancery against the Count, who was, by that means, not only deprived of his property, but compelled to withdraw, with the utmost expedition, into Poland. It was in vain that he transmitted many memorials from Poland, tending to justify his conduct; as his enemies suppressed them, and continued firm in the usurpation of his property.

This disgrace, added to the efforts of a disposition naturally active, made him determine to travel; so that

* Thus spelled in the manuscript, after the Polish manner.

after establishing his estate in Lithuania in proper hands, he repaired to Dantzick, with the intention of applying himself to navigation, and made several voyages to Hamburgh, and from thence to Amsterdam and to Plymouth. He was on the point of making a voyage to the East Indies in the year 1767, when he received several letters from the Magnates and Senators of Poland, which engaged him to return thither, in order to join in the confederation then forming. The personal regard he entertained for many of the nobility of that kingdom, added to the justice of their cause, and the consideration of his own peculiar interests, induced him to comply with the earnest solicitations of his friends. He accordingly arrived at Warsaw in the month of July, where he entered into an obligation upon oath with the chiefs of the confederacy, to the following effect:—

1. That he acknowledged the confederation as the only lawful tribunal of the republic, and that he would pay obedience only to the orders issued from its council.

2. That he would not acknowledge the King until the confederation should have declared him lawfully elected.

3. That he would join the confederation, on the first notice, where they should determine to assemble, to oppose the Russians by force of arms; and that he would not forsake the colours of the confederation so long as the Russians should remain in Poland.

4. That he would faithfully obey all the orders of the council or generality of the confederation.

In the month of December he left Warsaw, with the design of endeavouring to make his rights known at the court of Vienna, but being at length deprived of every hope of justice, he was obliged to return into Poland. Being thus unjustly deprived of a considerable fortune in Hungary, without the smallest expectation of recovering it, he determined to quit for ever the

dominions of the House of Austria. During his passage through the county of Zips, he was attacked by a violent fever, which obliged him to interrupt his journey. On this occasion he received repeated marks of friendship and regard in the house of Mr. Hensky, a gentleman of distinction, and became enamoured of one of his three daughters, with whom he soon after had the pleasure to be united by marriage.

In this state he found himself in the possession of happiness and tranquillity; but it was not his fate to continue long in possession of repose. The confederate states of Poland, a party of whom had declared themselves at Cracow, taking notice that the Count de Benyowsky was one of the first who had signed their union at Warsaw, wrote to him to join them. Their pressing solicitations would have been ineffectual, if he had not been acted on by a stronger tie. His oath compelled him to go. He therefore departed without informing his spouse, and repaired to Cracow, where he arrived on the very day the Count Panin made the assault. He was received with open arms by the Marshal Czarnezky, and was immediately appointed Colonel-General, Commander of Cavalry, and Quarter-Master General.

On the 6th of July (1768) he was detached to Novitarg, to conduct a Polish regiment to Cracow, a commission which he performed with honour, by bringing the whole regiment, composed of six hundred men, through the camp of the enemy before the town.

The Marshal was so well satisfied with the conduct of the Count, that he prevailed on the council of the generality to appoint him Muster-Master General, a place for which he had a competitor in the Prince Martin de Lubomiersky, who, upon his arrival at Cracow with two thousand regular troops, was declared a member of the generality of the confederation, and Inspector-General of Cavalry.

Before the arrival of this Prince, the Count de Benyowsky had proposed to the Marshal an expedition to seize the fortress of Landscron with the Polish regiment in the service of the Crown, which was quartered in that province. The Prince de Lubomiersky, on hearing of this proposal, thought the enterprize easy, and undertook it himself. Without acquainting the Count, he therefore gave orders to his cavalry to proceed, and it was not till after his departure that the Marshal Czarnesky informed him of this attempt. The Count de Benyowsky did not hesitate to assure the Marshal that the Prince would be defeated by the Russians before he had proceeded half the way, and that there was no other remedy than to send the rest of the cavalry, without delay, to charge the Russians at the instant of their attack on the Prince. Unfortunately, the Marshal was long in deciding; so that it was not till the second day after the departure of the Prince that the Count de Benyowsky received orders to march, with fourteen hundred cavalry, to support him. In consequence of this delay the Count, notwithstanding his utmost diligence, did not arrive at Kremenka till six hours after the defeat of the Prince. However, he had the good fortune to find the Russians on the spot, not expecting any attack. Upon the information he had received from his spies of their position and their negligence, he attacked and defeated them, and retook two hundred men, who had been made prisoners, of the party of the Prince Lubomiersky.

After this manœuvre he himself formed the project of carrying the attempt upon Landscron into execution. On his march towards that fortress he was so fortunate as to meet with several bodies of the Prince de Lubomiersky's troops, which reinforced his own. At length he arrived before the fortress, where he summoned the troops of the Crown to surrender themselves prisoners, and to put him in possession of the place; which he

had the satisfaction of seeing performed in the space of an hour's time. His first proceeding was to engage the new troops under their oath of fidelity, in the service of the confederation; after which he dispatched a courier to the Prince Lubomiersky, (who, since his defeat, had taken refuge in Hungary, without troops or friends,) to acquaint him with his success, and invite him to resume his command. But two days afterwards, having received undoubted information that the Russian General, Count Apraxin, was on his march to invest Cracow, he judged it indispensably necessary to hasten to the defence of that place; and as he foresaw that a town of that magnitude could not be defended unless it were well supplied with provisions, he laid the districts of Bielcz, Landscron, and Novitarg, under contribution, and obtained eighty carriages of grain, with six hundred oxen.

With this convoy he quitted Landscron, and marched towards Cracow. On his arrival at Vielicka, a town famous for its salt-works, he met a party of Russians, which he attacked and defeated, taking thirty prisoners, and the sum of nine hundred and eighty thousand Polish florins, being the King's revenue from the salt-works. In the night of the 29th of July he came to the passage of the Vistula, from whence he dispatched an officer to inform the Marshal Czarnezky of his return, requesting that the gates might be opened, to admit his party into the town without being discovered by the Russians. The Marshal, who was not acquainted with the particulars of the enterprize of the Count, but had heard by report that he was defeated and slain, was overjoyed at his return, and he entered the city with four thousand cavalry, a large sum of money, and a supply of provisions.

Immediately after the arrival of the Count, he proposed to the Marshal to establish a camp without the town; representing to him, that their numerous cavalry would exhaust their magazines without being of any

utility. In support of this proposal he observed, that the greatest advantages would be derived from an entrenched camp, as it would facilitate the junction of several parties of the nobility, who durst not declare themselves in favor of the confederation, because they saw no force to support them against the Russians. The representations of the Count did not, however, prevail with the council of the confederation. Orders were given to shut and barricade the gates of the town, including all the troops, whose number amounted to thirteen thousand men. General Apraxin approached every day nearer the town, and laid the surrounding country desolate, so that it could no longer afford any subsistance to the besieged. Provisions, by this means, becoming very scarce and dear, the Count again proposed to the Marshal to permit him to sally out with a party of two thousand cavalry, in hopes that with this troop he might throw some provisions into the town, and perhaps cause the Russian General to raise the siege. The council of the generality accepted this proposal, and permitted him to leave the city on the 23d of July, when he passed out at the gate of the Vistula, and swam his troops across the river, every other passage being shut up.

As soon as he had gained the open country he dispatched several officers to engage the nobility to join him, and furnish subsistance for the besieged town. As early as the 8th of August he found himself at the head of near five thousand horse and a good number of carriages, loaded with provisions, drawn by oxen, which were likewise intended to make part of the subsistance. On the 7th of August he repaired to the passage of the Vistula; but finding it occupied by the Russians, he retreated towards Vielicka, for the greater certainty of introducing the supplies into the town; and, as he concluded that the best method of insuring success would be to attack the Russians on one side, in order

to facilitate the passage on the other, he accordingly marched on the 10th of the same month, with three thousand horse, directly to the enemy's camp, leaving the convoy of provisions under the command of the Baron de Klusewsky, Colonel of Infantry, with orders to take advantage of the moment of the attack to enter the town. At three o'clock in the morning the Count, in person, attacked the Russian camp, and compelled General Apraxin to collect all his troops to oppose him, by which means a passage was left for the Baron de Klusewsky. At eight o'clock the Count, being convinced that his supplies had entered Cracow, made a precipitate retreat, after having lost above sixteen hundred men. The Russian cavalry, composed of Cossacks and Hussars, pursued the Count, who, in his retreat, had the misfortune to have his horse killed under him, and, after receiving two wounds, he himself fell at last into the hands of the enemy.

The Russian General, being informed of the successful manœuvre of the Count, was impressed with a very high opinion of him, and proposed to the Count to enter into the service of his sovereign; an offer which was rejected with disdain. He was, therefore, on the point of being sent with the other prisoners to Kiovia, when his friends ransomed him for two thousand ducats, which are equivalent to twenty-two thousand French livres.* Being thus set at liberty, he considered himself as dispensed from his parole which he had given to the Russians; it being an incontestable truth, that a man who purchases the use of his faculties has a right to apply them to any use he may find necessary for his welfare. By virtue of this indubitable right, the Count again entered Cracow, and was received with the most perfect satisfaction by the whole confederacy.

At the first council of war which was held, he represented to the generality, that the town being no longer

* Or £962 sterling.

able to hold out, it became an object of the utmost consequence to secure another place of retreat. He therefore proposed to the council to appoint him to seize the castle of Lublau, situated on the frontier of Hungary. This project was approved of by the council, and the execution was committed to the charge of the Count, who on the 22d quitted the town of Cracow, a body of six hundred horse being appointed to follow him. On his arrival on the frontier he used every exertion to obtain the intelligence necessary to insure success to his enterprize. He even ventured to visit the commanding officer of the castle, who was not apprehensive of the least danger. After a few visits he had the address to engage more than half the garrison, by oath, in the interest of the confederation, and he only waited for the appearance of the detachment from Cracow. But it unfortunately happened that the commander of that body was so indiscreet as to divulge the purpose to which it was destined; so that the news arrived at the castle of Lublau before the troops, and the Count de Benyowsky, who waited in readiness in the town of Georgenburg, near the castle, was seized, and carried into that fortress. The precaution he had taken of remaining in Hungary did not save him from the danger, because the commandant of Leutsch, an Imperial town, had permitted the foreign troops to pass into Hungary, contrary to the rights of his sovereign. The commanding officer of the castle treated the Count with the greatest indignity, and, pursuant to his order, sent him to General Apraxin at Cracow, who had taken possession of that town during the absence of the Count. It fortunately happened, however, that, in the passage from Novitarg, a troop of two hundred confederates, whose commanding officer knew the uniform of the troops who were conducting the Count, met them and rescued him out of their hands. As soon as the officer recognized the Count de Benyowsky, he surrendered his

command to him. With this small force he marched towards Lublin, a town where the rest of the confederation of Cracow had appointed to meet, in order to join those of Bar. On his arrival near Lublin he sent an intelligent officer to enquire whether the Russians were still at a distance, and whether any part of the confederation had already repaired to Lublin. The officer, on his return, acquainted him, that he had found a party of the confederates in Lublin, commanded by M. Derzanowsky, who was then busied in engaging the nobility of that palatinate to declare themselves in favour of the confederation; but that he had likewise been informed that the Russians were advancing, by forced marches, to dislodge the confederates from that town. This news caused the Count de Benyowsky to abandon his design of entering Lublin, instead of which he proceeded to Spicza, where he met a body of the confederates, who joined his party. From Spicza he published several manifestos, in which he exhorted the nobility to join him, fixing the rendezvous at Zamosc, to which place he directed his march.

On his arrival at Krasnoslaw he learned, that a party of the confederates, who had retired to Chelm, was in danger of being attacked by a body of Russians, composed of one battalion of infantry, eight hundred Cossacks, and four hundred Hussars. He instantly determined to hasten to their assistance, and marched the whole night between the 17th and 18th of October, 1768. His arrival was almost immediately after that of the Russians, whose cavalry had began to spread over the suburbs. He attacked and dislodged them, and upon entering the town he proposed to Colonel Suhalsky, whom he found with four hundred horse in the great square, to leave the town and attack the Russians. This being resolved on, the Count marched out with his whole troop, pretending to fly, in order to detach the enemy's cavalry from their infantry. He

had the good fortune by this means to draw them two leagues from Chelm, when perceiving them at a considerable distance from their infantry, he faced about and briskly attacked them. The Cossacks were thrown into confusion at the first charge, and the Hussars, after sustaining the shock, endeavoured to retreat towards their infantry; on the arrival of which the Count, whose force consisted entirely of cavalry, retired with the loss of one hundred and six men, the enemy not daring to pursue him. The affair being thus terminated, the Count returned to Krasnoslaw, where he had the satisfaction to meet a party of three hundred infantry, sent by the nobility of the palatinate of Sandomir, to the assistance of Bar, the city from whence the general confederation took its name. After the addition of this troop he found himself at the head of two thousand men, in want only of field pieces and ammunition.

Before he quitted Krasnoslaw he assembled a council, in which it was determined to repair to Zamosc, and take possession of the town, in order to procure the necessary supplies of arms, money, and ammunition. On the 28th of October the Count encamped in the suburbs of the town, and summoned the commandant of the town to pay the contribution of three thousand ducats, arms for two thousand infantry, four field pieces, four thousand pounds of gunpowder, and six thousand pounds of lead. On the 27th, having received nearly the whole of his demand, he quitted Zamosc, with the intention of repairing to Belcz, in order to encourage the nobility of that palatinate to declare in favour of the confederation.

Upon his arrival at Grodeck he judged it proper to remain some time, in expectation of the parties which the nobility of the palatinate of Lublin might send to him. Between the 6th and 10th of November he was joined by seven hundred and forty-three horsemen, and

one hundred and forty fantassins, whereupon, judging himself sufficiently strong to appear before Belcz, he quitted Grodeck on the 12th, on his march towards that place. As he was passing through the village of Lelki he met an officer with dispatches from General Vitt, commander at Kamieniecz, to the King. This officer, who was compelled to deliver his packet, informed them, that a Russian party was then in the field, for the express purpose of pursuing and destroying the confederated forces under his command, and that the Russian General had set a price upon his head. After this information, and from the particulars contained in the despatches, he changed his design, and instead of repairing to Belcz himself, he sent no more than a detachment of six hundred horse to that place, commanded by Colonel Suhalsky, to lay the town under contribution. The Count passed, with the greatest part of his force, to Sokal, a town not far from Belcz, where he waited the return of his spies. One of them arrived in the night of the 20th, from whom he received information, that a corps of Russians, joined by a regiment of Polanders in the service of the King, were marching hastily to surprize the Count, who they supposed to be in Belcz with his whole force. At daybreak he dispatched an order to his officer in command at Belcz to march out of the town in the night of the 21st, and proceed towards the village of Lelki to meet the Russians, and engage them to pursue him. He expressly ordered him to retreat towards Sokal, and not to face about till he arrived on the banks of the river in the way to Sokal. After forwarding these orders the Count quitted Sokal the 21st of November, and placed his infantry, with four pieces of cannon, in ambuscade in a wood by the side of the road, while he himself, with his cavalry, remained concealed behind an eminence nearer to Lelki. In this disposition he passed the whole day and part of the night, in expectation of

the event, frequently sending detachments towards Lelki to observe the enemy. His officers returned every hour with information, and at length the long expected hour arrived in which he received notice that the detachment from Belcz had met the corps of Russians, was immediately attacked by them, and that the confederate party would very soon pass by his post. In fact, the Count heard several discharges of fire-arms, and quickly after he saw Colonel Suhalsky retire towards Sokal, pursued by the Russians. He suffered both to pass until Suhalsky had proceeded beyond the wood where the confederate infantry was in ambush. These began a smart fire on the Russians, who instantly halted, and afterwards retreated towards the mountain, behind which the Count lay concealed, out of the reach of cannon-shot. The Russians drew up in order of battle to receive the shock of Colonel Suhalsky's party, who came upon them, supported by the infantry, out of the ambuscade. As soon as the first fire had began, the Count rushed upon the enemy's right flank, which being forced to give way, fell upon the centre in the greatest disorder. The Russians, nevertheless, fought with desperate valour as long as their ammunition lasted; but at length being compelled to yield to force, they surrendered themselves prisoners, to the number of four hundred men, being the remainder of a party of three thousand.

After this happy termination, the Count, surprized to find no cannon with the enemy's infantry, was informed that the Russian commander, General Ismailow, having perceived that the corps of Colonel Suhalsky was only a detachment, had concluded that the Count himself remained at Belcz; for which reason he sent only the cavalry, with six companies of chaffeurs, on the pursuit, and had himself, with four battalions, six pieces of cannon, ten squadrons of Hussars, and a Polish regiment of cavalry, proceeded to Belcz, with

the intention of destroying the Count's party. In order therefore to obtain the best information of the designs of this General, the Count de Benyowsky dispatched a Polish Captain, M. Ribniczki, to make the necessary enquiries, and, if possible, to bring the Polish regiment over to the side of the confederation.

After the departure of this emissary the Count retired with his troops towards Mosty, a town situate among the mountains of black Russia, about sixteen leagues from the field of battle, where he remained till the 27th of the month. On the 28th about noon he was informed that a body of troops were seen on the heights, marching with their colours flying. He immediately ordered his forces to move, and march towards them, with a determination to give them a warm reception ; but he was soon agreeably undeceived by the arrival of a Polish officer, whom he perceived to be his emissary, and who informed him that the troops then on their march towards him consisted of four squadrons of Polish cavalry, who having quitted the Russian service, were desirous of joining the confederation. The usual oath was therefore administered to them, after which the Count resolved to proceed to Bar, in order to give an account of his proceedings to the generality of the confederation, and to dispose of his prisoners. But the following day, having received information of the taking of Bar, and the retreat of the Count de Potoczky towards the frontier of Turky, he was desirous of joining him, and would have carried his purpose into effect, if he had not been solicited by the nobility of the palatinate of Lemberg, who sent several deputies to request him to approach their town, and support them in declaring for the confederation. He therefore marched towards Lemberg on the 4th of December, and levied a contribution in that city, but was joined by no more than fifty horsemen. From Lemberg he sent a party to Brody, to raise some

money, and himself marched towards the Dneister. On the 14th he met at Zavalow a party of the confederates of the corps under the Count de Pulauzky, from whom he learned the whole of the misfortunes the confederation had suffered, the taking of Bar, the defeat of Count Potoczky at Podhayze, and the imprisonment of the old Marshal Pulauzky; but the event which most sensibly affected him was the design of the two sons of the Marshal Pulauzky, who, seeing their father imprisoned, were desirous of quitting the army of the confederation.

All these circumstances determined the Count to repair to Zuaniecz on the 21st. The young Counts Pulauzky, his old friends, received him with the greatest joy, as a friend capable of assisting in their enterprizes, and on the following day he was proclaimed Commandant-General of Cavalry, and installed in quality of Commander in Chief at Zuaniecz, a place which the elder son of the Count Pulauzky ceded to him on account of the confidence he reposed in his experience. Immediately after the arrival of the Count a change was made in the discipline of the troops of the confederates. They were better provided, and subordination more strictly attended to. And as the rigour of the season seemed to forbid the approach of the Russians, the Count availed himself of the time to stock the two fortresses of Zuaniecz and Okopp with provision, in the latter of which the younger Count Pulauzky commanded in person. He likewise used every exertion to reconcile the Counts Potoczky and Krasinzky with the Marshal Pulauzky. But this interposition had nearly proved unfortunate to the Count Benyowsky himself; for the Count Potoczky, suspecting him of an intention of releasing the Marshal Pulauzky by open force, had proceeded so far even as to issue orders to arrest the Count de Benyowsky. The latter, however, having received information of the

proceeding, quitted the camp and retired to Zuaniecz, where he connected himself still more intimately than before with the two sons of the Marshal de Pulauzky.

On the 29th of December the Count received advice of the departure of the Count Potoczky, with his troops, for Bender. He saw clearly that this disunion between the two confederate parties would destroy their force; and for that reason he advised the Count de Pulauzky to write to the Counts Potoczky and Krasinzky, to represent to them the numerous dangers to which they would expose many parts of the confederation, by separating from them; that, on the contrary, it was absolutely necessary to re-enter Poland with a considerable body of Turks to encourage and support the nobility in taking up arms in favour of the confederation, which they might easily do by sacrificing their private interests to the general good of the republic. But the Count Potoczky, listening only to the suggestions of his ambition, and flattered by the distinction he met with among the Turks, persisted in the design of not quitting the Turkish army, in which he likewise prevailed on the Count de Krasinzky to concur.

This precipitate departure of the Counts Potoczky and Krasinzky, and the distance of the Turkish army near Bender, entirely disconcerted the two confederate parties, composed of seven thousand eight hundred men, one half of whom were commanded by Count Casimir Pulauzky at Okopp, and the other by the Count de Benyowsky at Zuaniecz. These two chiefs, in order to keep their troops in spirits, and likewise to answer the essential purposes of the confederation, took into their pay three thousand Lipky, a kind of light Turkish cavalry, and after having put the fortresses into a state of defence, they established two camps between Zuaniecz and Okopp.

Such was their position on the 22d of January, 1769. On the 24th they received advice that a Russian corps,

commanded by General Ismailow, was established at Constantinow, in Wolnia, and that another corps, under the command of General Kretsetnikow, had fixed their quarters at Lemberg. Hence they concluded that the Russians designed to molest them by their light troops till the expected arrival of General Galitzin with his army. To prevent this, their first care was directed to the preservation of the fortresses of Zuaniecz and Okopp, after which they raised their camp to march towards the enemy. The Count Pulauzky undertook to act against General Kretsetnikow, and the Count Benyowsky against General Ismailow. The latter directed his march towards Skalat, a castle and town belonging to the Count Scipion, one of his best friends, a circumstance which, however, did not prevent him from seizing the artillery and furniture. From Skalat he marched to Viogrodeck, Lampol, and Zaczslaw, at which last place he received a reinforcement of one hundred and sixty-nine horsemen and eighty-two foot soldiers. From Zaczslaw he retired into the forest of Lackow, whence he dispatched two of his officers to reconnoitre the enemy's post at Constantinow. On their return he learned that General Ismailow was not yet arrived, but that he was continually expected, and that there was at Constantinow only a Major, commander of six companies of infantry, having with him two field pieces, four hundred Hussars, and three or four hundred Cossacks; and that the enemy was ignorant of the position of the confederates, whom they supposed still to remain in their fortresses. On this information the Count de Benyowsky marched his troops the whole night between the 7th and 8th of February, and arrived before Constantinow at four in the morning. He immediately disposed his troops in order, and at five o'clock attacked them in three different places. The Russians made very little resistance, so that great numbers of them were slain, because the Turks gave

no quarter, a circumstance which obliged the Count to threaten the Aga who commanded them, that if he did not put a stop to the carnage made by his troop, he would punish their cruelty on the spot. This firmness of the Count preserved the lives of many of these unfortunate men.

After having thus defeated the Russians he took possession of Constantinow, which he laid under contribution, and then proceeded to Medzibors. On the 15th he took the castle of Medzibors, the garrison consisting of sixty-eight grenadiers, with eight pieces of cannon, and a quantity of ammunition and provisions. From Medzibors he passed the river Bogh, and marched towards Grodek; during which he was informed that the Russians, in conjunction with General Branicky, in the King's service, having been made acquainted with the operations and the march of the Count, had sent four thousand men, infantry and cavalry, from Bar, to pursue him. This intelligence caused him to hasten his march, and to pass the river Smotrick to the north of the castle of Felstin. On the 27th, being arrived at Satanow, he was informed that the Count Pulauzky, not having succeeded against Lemberg, had attempted to dislodge several parties of Russians in the vicinity of that place, three of which he had defeated; but that having received advices of the greatest consequence, he had retreated towards Zuaniecz, in hopes of joining the Count. On the 27th the Count Benyowsky quitted Satanow, and marched towards Grodek, and as he was passing through the village of Ostokopia he met several carriages filled with wounded men, from whom he learnt that the Count Pulauzky had maintained a very sharp action with the Russians near the river Srebovicza, and had retired towards Grodek, the Russians not thinking proper to pursue him.

In consequence of this information the Count halted to refresh his troops, and after marching all night he

arrived about day-break before Grodek, where the Count Pulauzky, hearing of his arrival, met him, and conducted him into the town. The junction of these troops was one of those happy turns of fortune which alone can change the issue of a well-conducted enterprize, such as was that of General Ismailow, who, since the affair at Constantinow, had sought the Count Benyowsky without being able to join him. The Russian commander, upon the information that the Count Pulauzky was at Grodek with three thousand men, determined to surround him, and would certainly have done it, if the arrival of the Count, with his corps of four thousand three hundred men, had not intervened and prevented it.

On the 28th, in the evening, the confederate detachment announced the approach of the Russians, who were on their march, to the number of ten thousand, in two columns.

On the 1st of March, at seven in the morning, they were at no greater distance from the city than one league, when the Count de Pulauzky presented himself in opposition to them in the order of battle, with twenty-eight companies of infantry, supported by six pieces of cannon, with the Turkish and Polish cavalry on each wing. At nine o'clock the action began, by an attack made by the Russian cavalry upon the left wing of the confederates, which was compelled to give way. The center was at the same time charged by the enemy's infantry along its whole front, which likewise engaged their left: at this moment the Count de Benyowsky marched his whole infantry to support the left wing of the Count de Pulauzky, and himself, at the head of his cavalry, rushed on the enemy's right flank, who were not in the least expectation of this manœuvre. The Russian General then divided his center to support his wings, but the enemy's Cossacks, who were overthrown, prevented the infantry from obeying their

orders. The consequence was, that the latter were thrown into the utmost confusion, and compelled to make a precipitate retreat, with the loss of their carriages and artillery. This affair cost the Russians near twelve hundred men slain, and as many taken prisoners; but the killed and wounded of the confederates did not exceed nine hundred.

On the 2d of March the two Counts quitted the town of Grodek, and marched towards Zuaniecz with the intention of calling a council of war to decide ultimately on the measures to be pursued. On the 7th, on a spot between Zuaniecz and Okopp, they divided their troops in order to lead them into those fortresses, to repose themselves, after the fatigues they had undergone.

A council of war was held on the 8th, at which the Generals Laurent, Potoczky, Grocholzky, Radziminsky, Slabufersky, Noviczy, and other commanders of the troops of the republic attached to the confederation were present. The two Counts, persuaded that the Russian army waited only the return of spring to make their approach to the Turkish frontier, represented to the council, that it would be prudent to determine to quit the two posts of Zuaniecz and Okopp, and return into Poland. The reasons they offered were, 1. That while they remained on the frontier of Turky, the Russians would keep them separated from Poland, and consequently that the palatinates would never dare to declare for the confederation, because unsupported by any military force. 2. That they themselves would likewise continue unable to draw any supply either of subsistence or recruits from Poland, to reinstate their daily losses. 3. Lastly, That the two fortresses of Zuaniecz and Okopp could never hold out against an army. These remonstrances had no effect on the Council, which obstinately persisted in the resolution of preserving the two fortresses; and for that purpose

they determined to send one deputy to the Counts Potoczky and Krazinzky to request supplies of men and money, and another to Constantinople to solicit the same supplies from the Grand Signior. In was in vain that the Counts Pulauzky and Benyowsky represented, that before the return of their deputies the Russians would attack them, and put it out of their power to abandon their present posts; for the council still adhered to their resolution.

On the 10th a foraging party brought word, that they had discovered a numerous troop of the enemy's cavalry at Korolouka. The Council immediately ordered a detachment to the pursuit. The Count himself took charge of this expedition; but instead of the enemy he met a party of six hundred confederates, who had formerly served under the Prince Lubomiersky. On the 12th, in the morning, advice was received by the Count, that General Vitt had caused seven hundred men to march out of Kamieniecz Podolsky, to take their position before Zuaniecz. The Council being informed of this, gave orders to the Count to make the necessary dispositions to prevent their making a lodgment, which he did by presenting himself before them with eight squadrons of cavalry. Upon his approach he learned that General Vitt had sent this detachment only for the purpose of receiving a Russian courier from Constantinople, who was to be put into their hands by a Turkish detachment from Chotym. On this information the Count de Benyowsky acquainted the officer, that the Turks had confidence enough in the confederation to pass the man in question through their hands, concerning whose fate it was totally unnecessary for General Vitt to give himself any trouble; who, having consulted his own vanity in sending his detachment, might probably find reasons to repent the proceeding. This answer was followed by an order to the officer to withdraw instantly with his party, or stand

on his defence. The royalist officer retired without delay, and returned to Kamieniecz; and the Count, on his part, retired to Zuaniecz, where he found the Russian courier arrived, and received him in charge from the Turks to be conducted to Kamieniecz.

In the night of the 15th the Count received a courier from the Count Pulauzky, informing him, that the latter having issued out of Okopp with a detachment of troops, on his march towards Oucze, was attacked by the Russians, and obliged to retreat towards Grodek, a village to which he had been invited to come. The Count Benyowsky immediately marched a part of his cavalry with the utmost expedition to his assistance; but though he traversed sixteen leagues in fourteen hours, he did not arrive till after the action, which, contrary to all expectation, had terminated in favor of the confederates, though the Count Pulauzky had no more than four hundred men with him to oppose a body of fourteen hundred. The prisoners taken in this engagement affirmed that the Russian party had been sent out to reconnoitre the ground, and take some prisoners, in order to obtain information respecting the positions of the fortresses Zuaniecz and Okopp. They also informed the Count that General Ismailow intended in a short time to attack those fortresses with twelve thousand men appointed for the enterprize.

On the 18th, upon his return to Zuaniecz, the Count communicated this news to the council, which was also confirmed by a Polish officer who deserted from Kamieniecz to join the confederation. On the 21st the Count de Benyowsky having received fresh advices of the approach of the enemy, engaged the Count Pulauzky to quit the fortress of Okopp, as being incapable of maintaining a siege; but the council refused to consent to the evacuation of that place; and at last, on the 22d and 23d, being assured that General Ismailow was at no greater distance than three leagues from

Zuaniecz, they gave up all their hopes. The members of the council then deliberated only on the best means of securing themselves individually, and one after another they quitted the fortress to retire into Turky, taking with them all the Russian prisoners. This proceeding consequently left the whole disposition of affairs in the hands of the Count de Benyowsky.

On the 24th, in the morning the Count beheld from the fortress the enemy's columns following each other, and separating at the village of Havrilouka; whence he conjectured that they intended to attack the two fortresses of Zuaniecz and Okopp at the same time, a circumstance in which he was not deceived. On the same day about noon the Count fired several eight pounders at the enemy, loaded with only one third of their usual charge. The balls of course not reaching the enemy, they concluded that they might, with impunity, approach still nearer the fortress, which they did the same day, and began to work on the erection of batteries. On the 25th the Russians began to fire on the castle, and continued their cannonade till the close of the day, without receiving any effectual return; but in the night between the 25th and 26th the Count, after having given orders to the commanding officer under him to fire on the enemy at day-break with his heaviest artillery, sallied out of the castle by the gate of Ottaky, which leads towards the Dneister, with two thousand horse, and passing through Brahy, he made the entire circuit of the Russian camp, so that he found himself by day-break at their backs. At this instant the artillery from the castle began a very heavy and destructive fire on the enemy's camp, which was within half cannon shot of the place. Their troops, who could not rally without being exposed to the fire which swept their ranks, were quickly thrown into the utmost confusion, which was greatly increased by the sudden violence of the cavalry of the Count, who rushed upon them, and

forced them, at last, to quit the camp and baggage, and fly with precipitation towards Grodek. Their terror was such, that they did not stop till at the distance of six leagues from Zuaniecz, and on this occasion they lost eleven hundred slain, and three hundred and twenty-eight prisoners, with two pair of colours, three standards, and eighteen pieces of cannon.

After the deliverance of Zuaniecz, the Count, desirous of assisting his companion, the Count de Pulauzky, at Okopp, marched immediately towards that fortress; but on his arrival he found it in ashes, and entirely abandoned, except by the dying and the dead. Some of the former acquainted the Count, that the Count de Pulauzky, seeing the impossibility of maintaining the place, had himself, after repelling three assaults, set fire to the town and castle, and immediately afterwards sallied out, with the intention of forcing a passage through the enemy's camp to join the Count de Benyowsky; but that their knowledge of the subsequent adventures of their intrepid chief extended no farther.

The Count, after having seen the wounded placed in proper carriages, returned to Zuaniecz. On the 29th he received a letter from the Count de Pulauzky, who informed him, that not having been able to form a passage towards Zuaniecz, in his sally out of Okopp, he had passed the Dneister, and directing his march through Moldavia, he had happily arrived at Zombor, whence he proposed to join the party of confederates at Sandomir in expectation of the arrival of the Count, whom he advised to quit Zuaniecz and immediately retire into Turky, in order to march freely through Moldavia on the frontiers of Hungary, where he would himself wait for him in the neighbourhood of Zombor. The Count communicated this letter to all the commanders under him, and determined with them to adopt the measures proposed by the Count Pulauzky. In

consequence of this decision he sent two of his officers to the Bacha of Chotym, to inform him of his intention, and to request the necessary assistance to facilitate his passage. The Bacha acquiesced in all his demands, and promised the indispensable assistance required by the Count. Orders were therefore immediately given to forward the equipages to Otaky, a village situated near Chotym; and on the 30th he evacuated Zuaniecz and marched to Braha, a Polish village on the bank of the Dniester, opposite Chotym, and under the cannon of that fortress. Nothing now remained but to pass the river; but just as the Count was about to form a bridge, the Bacha sent him word that he durst by no means permit the establishment of a bridge across the river without express orders of the Grand Signior; and moreover, that, upon reflection, he did not think proper to venture to receive the Count and his troops till instructions should arrive from Stamboul.*

This message threw the Count into the utmost embarrassment. For as he had evacuated Zuaniecz, he found himself exposed to the danger of being surrounded on the first occasion by the Russians, who, having the Bacha of Chotym in their interests, might easily, and without danger, attack the Count whenever they pleased. On the 6th of April the Russians took possession of Zuaniecz, and detached a party for the purpose of entirely destroying the Count and his troops. In the night between the 7th and 8th he was attacked at Braha, by four thousand men, but the precipitation of the Russian General saved the Count. The enemy's cavalry preceded their infantry, and first entered the village, where they were very ill treated by two batteries the Count had constructed upon a small eminence. Being thus forced to give way, they stopped the passage of their infantry, which descended the mountain of Braha; and as every shot of the batteries took effect

* *i.e.* Constantinople.

the Count had the good fortune to repel them. Nevertheless, as he was by no means desirous of a second visit, he quitted Braha on the 8th, and marched to Kitaygrod, where he laid a bridge across the Dniester, and entered Turky in spite of the prohibition and menaces of the Bacha. He then passed through Mesava, and repaired to Stadienieza near Chotym, where he pitched his tents near the camp of the Bacha of Natolia, intending to rest his troops for a short space, and to settle upon the measures necessary to be adopted in facilitating his march through Moldavia.

On the 10th he received an order from the Bacha of Chotym to raise his camp, and leave the dominions of the Grand Signior without delay; and this order was attended with the threat, that on the least sign of resistance he would cause all the confederates to be cut in pieces. The Count returned for answer, that as the Grand Signior had granted his protection to the confederates of the republic, of which he was a member, it was with the greatest surprize that he beheld the conduct of the Bacha, who had already forfeited his word, by promising him every assistance, which he had basely departed from when he forbad him to pass the river at Braha, and by that means exposed him to the mercy of the Russians; that there was no occasion for other proofs to convince him of the bad faith of the Bacha, who had sold his services to the Russians; and that he feared not his threats, because he was well assured that the brave men he commanded would not execute a commission so base as that of cutting off the troops of the friends and allies of the Grand Signior, who had taken refuge in his dominions.

After dispatching this answer, the Count waited upon the Bacha of Natolia, who was encamped near him, and to whom he communicated every particular of the conduct of the Bacha of Chotym, at the same time that he requested his assistance against the violence of

that traitor. The Bacha of Natolia, who was secretly the enemy of the Bacha of Chotym, promised the Count his assistance, and advised him to send a courier to Stamboul to acquaint the Grand Signior with the behaviour of the commander at Chotym, which the Count accordingly did the same day. On the 11th in the evening the Bacha of Chotym sent an Aga of the Janizaries to the Bacha of Natolia, with orders to secure the person of the Count, and send him to Chotym to be punished for his insolence. But the Bacha of Natolia kept his promise to the Count, by sending an answer to the effect, that the Count, having sent a csauz or courier to Stamboul, was entitled by the laws to an asylum till the return of the firman of the Grand Signior; and that as his person was safe in his hands, the Bacha of Chotym need not doubt his security, though he refused to put him into his without an express order from the Grand Signior. After the departure of the Aga, the Bacha of Natolia advised the Count to raise his camp, and retire, lest the Bacha of Chotym might avenge himself by treachery: and this generous Turk, not content with shewing the Count every mark of friendship during his short stay, detached likewise with him a body of one thousand horse, to accompany him to the frontiers of Poland.

On the 14th, the Count raised his camp, and marched towards Cserniowcze, the residence of the Hospodar, at which place he arrived on the 16th, and from thence dispatched several of his officers to convey his baggage from Chotym; but these, on their return, informed him, that the Bacha had seized the whole. Thus plundered by his allies, he marched towards Avriloveze, where he dismissed the Turkish Spahis, and passed, at length, to Zadobricze, in Poland, preferring the chance of war, though in a hazardous position, to the base treatment he had received from his allies.

On the 18th, after having refreshed his troops, which

consisted of about three thousand nine hundred men, he proposed to march towards Zombar to join the Count Pulauzky, but many of the Commanders refused to follow him, and left him to the number of fourteen hundred horse; refusing even to take charge of the sick and wounded, the conveyance of whom greatly incommoded the Count. He forced his march along the river Pruth as far as Dobrilow, where he arrived on the 26th. From Dobrilow he marched towards Oriow, and thence to Dorchovicz, which is situated in a valley between the Carpathian mountains. On the 5th of May he sent an officer from Dorchovicz to Zambor to procure intelligence of the Count Pulauzky; and on the 9th his messenger returned with the news that Count Pulauzky had retired into Hungary, and that the Russians were there under the command of Colonel Brincken, who being apprized of the approach of the Count, had determined to seek him. The Count, being sensible from this advice of his extreme danger, which he could not avoid as he was shut in by his enemies, proposed to his troops to enter Hungary, and there wait for a favourable opportunity to enter Poland, in junction with the Count de Pulauzky. But they refused to follow him, because they consisted, for the most part, of deserters from the Imperial forces, who durst not return into the Emperor's dominions. In this distressing situation he had no other alternative but to retire into the forest of Zyduczow, which he immediately put in execution. And Colonel Brincken would certainly have missed him, if he had not received advice of his retreat by a deserter who left the Count at the passage of Kippa, in the forest of Zyduczow.

The Russian Colonel, judging that the Count was marching towards Stry to join the confederate parties at Sanok, likewise hastened his march, and arrived thither half a day before the Count, whose forces were weakened by fatigue and hunger. In this state he was

attacked, on the 19th of May, about noon, by Colonel Brincken, at the head of four thousand men. The Count was at first compelled to give way; but on the arrival of his cannon he, in his turn, forced the Colonel to retire, who at last quitted the field, and retreated towards Stry. The advantage of the victory served only to augment the misery of the Count, who in this single action had near three hundred wounded and two hundred and sixty-eight slain, and who had no other prospect before him than either to perish by hunger with his troops in the forests, or to expose himself to be cut in pieces by the enemy. However, that he might have no cause to reproach himself, he took the advice of his officers and troops in his march towards Bialoboboky, who were unanimous to proceed to that place. The project required a speedy execution, though it was impossible to carry it into effect without first refreshing the men and horses who had just been in action. About eleven o'clock the Count resumed his march, and about ten in the morning of the 20th he arrived at the village of Szuka, where being obliged to halt for refreshment, he was surprized by a party of Cossacks, and had only time to quit the village and form his troops in order of battle on the plain, before he was attacked by the enemies' cavalry, and soon after by their infantry, supported by several pieces of cannon, which caused the greatest destruction among the forces of the Count. At length, in the heat of the combat, the Count, having before received two wounds with the sabre, was wounded in the body by the shot of a cannon, loaded with old iron and other destructive rubbish. His fate decided that of his party, and the Russians had at last the satisfaction of seeing him their prisoner.

Colonel Brincken, the commander of the party he had fought with, caused the Count to be conveyed to the Russian General Prince Prosorouzky, who sent him

to General * * * * commander in chief of the army, then encamped at Tarnopol, a man equally cruel and base, who, contrary to every sentiment of humanity, insulting the misfortunes of the Count, not only forbad the surgeons to dress his wounds, but likewise, after reducing him to bread and water, loaded him with chains, and in that state transported him to Kiow. It was fortunate, however, that the wounds of the Count reduced him to a situation which persuaded his conductor that he was in danger of immediate death, and induced him, upon his arrival at Polone, to make his report to Colonel Sirkow, the commanding officer at that place, who ordered him to be carried to the hospital, where he was cured of his wounds by a French surgeon, named Blanchard; from whose report, when the Russian commander was informed that the Count was able to leave the hospital, he caused him to be lodged in the town, and advanced him fifty roubles for his subsistance.

During his stay at Polone the Count became acquainted with a Lieutenant in the Russian service, named Milck, a native of Courland, who, equally generous with his Colonel, offered him a share of the little he possessed. Thus it was, that in the lowest stage of misfortune the Count had the consolation to find friends, and he already had began to think his situation tolerable, when he at once experienced the reverse, upon the arrival of Brigadier Bannier, who relieved Colonel Sirkow in his command, and who had a strong prejudice against the Count. Immediately after the departure of the Colonel this commander caused the Count to be loaded with chains, and conducted to the dungeon with the rest of the prisoners, to whom this inhuman tyrant allowed no other subsistance than bread and water. Upon his entrance he recognized several officers and soldiers who had served under him, and their demonstrations of esteem and

friendship were the only consolation he received in his distressed situation.

Twenty-two days were thus consumed in a subterraneous prison, together with eighty of his companions, without light, and even without air, except what was admitted through an aperture which communicated with the casemates. These unhappy wretches were not permitted to go out, even on their natural occasions, which produced such an infection, that thirty-five of them died in eighteen or twenty days; and such was the inhumanity and barbarity of the commander, that he suffered the dead to remain and putrify among the living. The prison was not opened till the 16th of July, which was the twenty-second of their confinement, and from thence the Count was led to the place of arms, where several bands of prisoners, all in chains, were already convened. The order was soon given for their departure for Kiow, and they began their march under the guard of a company, commanded by an ancient Captain of Infantry. The cruelty exercised by the Russian officer towards the unfortunate men under his superintendance was such as can only be imagined by a monster like himself. His brutal disposition caused him to deprive them of half their allowance of bread, the value of which he converted to his own use, and he laid the villages under contribution for exempting them from providing the prisoners with lodging, at the same time that he left them exposed to the heat of the season and the rain in the open air, without tents or any shelter whatever. These unhappy men, emaciated with hunger and covered with wounds, being unable to march as fast as the commander desired, were continually beaten, and the Count himself was not excused, though unable to walk without crutches. This treatment, so infamous and shocking to humanity, caused the destruction of such a number of the prisoners, that out of seven hundred and eighty-two,

which were put under his conduct at Polone, he brought no more than one hundred and forty-eight to Kiow, the rest being either dead, or abandoned in the forests in a dying state.

On the 4th of August, having at length reached Kiow, a town on the border of Russia, fortified by simple works of earth, the prisoners were again shut up in the casemates, where they experienced the same hardships as at Polone. The strength of the Count's constitution, which had hitherto enabled him to resist such an accumulation of hardships and fatigue, gave way at length, and on the 12th he was attacked with a malignant fever that quickly produced a delirium, which continued till the 8th of September. On the 10th of the same month the governor of Kiow, Count Voieikou, caused the prisoners to pass in review before himself and a commissary who was charged to take an account of the name and quality of each. The Count, whom they were obliged to carry, had not strength to answer to his name when called in his turn; whereupon the governor made enquiry respecting his state, and gave immediate orders that he should be separately lodged in a house, and that two roubles a day should be paid him for subsistance. This treatment, by enabling the Count to procure proper diet, soon put him in a fair way of recovery. But at this crisis, unfortunately for him, an order arrived from Petersburgh to send all the prisoners to Cazan, and the Count being forced to make this journey, though he was not compelled to walk, experienced a relapse, which obliged the Russian officer to leave him at Nizym, a town dependent on the government of Kiow. M. Levner, a German merchant of that place, interested himself in favour of the Count, and obtained permission of the Voywode to receive him into his house. The care and attention of this humane and generous friend restored him to health, and enabled him to appear in

decent clothes. He should have thought his misfortunes greatly alleviated if he had been permitted to have remained at Nizym; but on the arrival of the second convoy of prisoners the Voywode placed him in charge of the commanding officer. His benefactor, from whom he was then forced to part, had the generosity to present him with the sum of two hundred roubles, which, for fear of being robbed by some of the Russian soldiers, he deposited in the hands of the commander, whose name was Wolkow, with a request that he would keep it for him till his arrival at Cazan. On their arrival at Tula, the Count having occasion to purchase some provisions and other necessaries, requested a few roubles of the commandant in the presence of some of the other prisoners; but the unprincipled wretch not only had the effrontery to deny his having received any money, but likewise treated the Count with the most injurious and abusive language, and from that time used every means in his power to render the rest of the journey uncomfortable to him. He even carried his malice so far, that on their arrival at Cazan he accused the Count before the governor, Count Krasnin Samaren, of attempting to raise a revolt among the prisoners; and on this accusation he was loaded with chains and committed to prison, from which he was not delivered but at the pressing instances of the Counts Marshal Czarneczky, Potockzy, and the young Pulauzky.

After his deliverance from prison he was lodged with a goldsmith, named Vendischov, a native of Sweden, who treated him with great kindness and humanity. The reputation of the Count, and his open disposition, procured him a numerous acquaintance among the Russian nobility; and one day, being invited to dine with a man of quality, he learned, by several particulars of the conversation, that a design was projecting against the government. Some days afterwards, being invited

again in the same company, one of the guests addressed him, and proposed many questions respecting the disposition of the prisoners towards Government; at the same time observing that the governor of Cazan, having no more than four hundred men in garrison, was very uneasy lest the prisoners, whose number amounted to seven thousand, should revolt, and that to prevent so dangerous an event, he had sent to Petersburgh, requesting orders to send them into Siberia. The Count immediately perceived the intention of the person who questioned him, but not thinking it prudent to enter into any conversation by which he might seem to enter into an engagement, he only replied, that the Governor, having a body of brave men under his command, who were armed and in possession of the fortress, had nothing to fear from men worn out with disease, and for the most part actually disabled; but that he doubtless acted prudently in taking every precaution suitable to the office he held. The continuation of this discourse led the Russian at last to declare to the Count, that the nobility of many of the governments were greatly discontented with the despotic authority of the Empress, and that, in order to deliver themselves, they were disposed to enter into a confederacy to shake off the yoke of slavery, and become as free as other nations; that the present moment was highly favourable to their designs, because the troops were employed elsewhere, and the clergy, equally discontented, were ready to join the nobility, who besides might easily gain over the Tartars of Cazan, a people naturally disposed to declare in favour of the Turks. He ended his discourse by observing that the Russian nobility likewise depended much on the assistance of the prisoners who were so unworthily treated in their misfortunes.

The Count, without any embarrassment, replied simply, that the prisoners being without arms, and always kept in sight of their guards, could not dare

to make any attempt against government; but that on recovering their liberty they were disposed to shew their gratitude in the most zealous and effectual manner, and that consequently, if they were delivered from their wretched situation, no matter by whom, their deliverers might be assured of their attachment. After this conversation the Count rejoined the company, and was received with such demonstrations of friendship as convinced him that the whole party consisted of malecontents. Immediately after the company broke up, the Count waited on his old friend the Marshal Czarneczky, to whom he communicated his discovery. On the following day the Marshal invited several of the superior officers among the prisoners, and revealed the secret to them, in order that by their deliberations it might be decided what mode of proceeding they should adopt, in case they should receive any proposals on the part of the discontented nobility. It was accordingly determined in secret committee, that the confederates should not enter into any conspiracy against the government in conjunction with the malecontents, to whom, nevertheless, a promise might be made, that in case they should become masters of the city, the prisoners, being set at liberty, would form a body which should act in concert with their deliverers until the final orders of the generality of the confederation might arrive.

The Count de Benyowsky was entrusted with the management of this affair, which he pursued with the greatest zeal, prudence and sagacity, in such a manner as not to endanger any of the prisoners, even on the supposition that government should discover the conspiracy. The malecontents, on the other hand, entered into their pursuit with so much spirit, that they succeeded in bringing over to their party the nobility of the governments of Voronicz, Bielogorod, Kiow, and the greater part of Moscow, the capital of Russia. They only waited for the appearance of the Tartars of

Cazan, who had engaged to present themselves before the town of Cazan with nine or ten thousand horse.

Such was the state of affairs on the 6th of November, (1769) when a sudden change was produced by a quarrel between two Russian lords, one of whom informed the governor, that the prisoners, in concert with the Tartars, meditated a design against his person and the garrison. This apostate accused the Count, in order to save his friends and countrymen. On the 7th, at eleven at night, the Count, not suspecting any such event, heard a knocking at his door. He came down, entirely undressed, with a candle in his hand, to enquire the cause; and upon opening his door was surprized to see an officer, with twenty soldiers, who demanded if the prisoner were at home. On his replying in the affirmative, the officer snatched the candle out of his hand, and ordering his men to follow him, went hastily up to the Count's apartment.

The Count immediately took advantage of the mistake, quitted his house, and repaired to the quarters of his intimate friend, Major Wynbladth, who was likewise a prisoner. After relating the adventure to him, and engaging him to make his escape together with him, they quitted Cazan, and repaired to the nearest village, where they took horses of the countrymen, with the intention of hastening to Sebuksar. On their arrival at this place they apprized several Russian gentlemen of the discovery of their plot, who having the strongest reasons to fear the consequences of the Count's being arrested, gave him a podruschna, or order for post horses, with money and cloathing. From Sebuksar they passed to Kusmoden Janskoy, where they took post, and continued their route as far as Nizney Novogrod, where they gave out that they were officers returning from Kizlar to Petersburgh, charged with dispatches from the governor. The Voivod had the politeness to invite them to dinner, and treated them elegantly, after which he furnished them with a letter

for the Voivod of Volodomir, which was of the greatest service to them, as they certainly would have been arrested if they had not been provided with it. They still continued to urge their course, and passed through Moscow, as well as Twer, Velki-novogrod, and other places, in the night.

At length they arrived at Petersburgh on the 19th of November, where the Count took lodgings in a hotel, causing his Major to pass in the character of his valet de chambre. Upon his first going out he met a German tradesman, by profession an apothecary, who being given to understand that the Count was desirous of passing by sea into another country, directed him to the lodgings of a Dutch Captain.

The Count accordingly waited on the Captain, and begged him to take him and his domestic passengers, promising to pay him five hundred ducats on his arrival in Holland. The Captain agreed to receive him on board, and as he was ready to set sail the following day he appointed the Count to meet on the bridge of Neva about midnight, who accordingly attended there exactly at the time, with his companion. While they were waiting the arrival of the Captain with the utmost impatience, he at length appeared, and saluted the Count, begging that he would remain on the spot a moment, as he would quickly return, after he had finished some pressing business with his correspondent. He did not fail to return soon after, and beckoned the Count, who hastened to meet him. But at the very instant he was about to express his gratitude to the Captain, twenty soldiers seized on him, and knocked him down; after which they conducted him together with the Major, to the Count Csecserin, Lieutenant-General of the Police, who, in a very mild and polite manner, proposed the following questions to the Count.

1. He demanded the birth, country, age, and religion of the Count?

2. Under what power he had served before he became engaged in the confederation?

3. Who had persuaded him to sign the act of confederacy?

4. Whether he did not know that the court of France furnished money for the payment of the troops of the confederates?

5. Who had engaged him, being a prisoner, to excite the other prisoners to revolt, and what was his design in case he had succeeded, in getting possession of Cazan?

6. Whether the other confederate chiefs were concerned in the conspiracy or not, and whether there were not certain Russians engaged with him to carry this abominable plot into execution? their names, and the manner in which the engagement was brought about?

7. After deserting from Cazan, why did the prisoner repair to Petersburgh, if he had not some premeditated design? Whence had he money for making a journey of that length by post, and why did he pretend that his companion was his servant?

8. On the supposition that his design was that of quitting Russia, why did he prefer going to Holland?

The answers of the Count were,

1. That he was born Magnate of the kingdoms of Hungary and Poland, is aged twenty-eight years, and professes the Christian religion.

2. That he served in the Imperial army in quality of officer in the war against the King of Prussia.

3. That in his quality of Staroste, he thought it his duty to assist the republic in shaking off a foreign yoke.

4. That he was ignorant whether or no the court of France furnished the confederation with money.

5. That he had never excited the prisoners to revolt, his design being no other than that of recovering his own liberty; and that the tyranny and cruelty he had experienced in the prisons had forced him to this attempt; that he never had any intention of seizing the town of

Cazan; and therefore he could have no further intentions consequent to the imaginary capture of that town.

6. That in quality of prisoner, it was neither necessary nor expedient that he should become an informer, and consequently that he declined answering the sixth question.

7. That after quitting Cazan he had repaired to Petersburgh, for the purpose of more easily quitting the empire by means of some foreign ships; that as he had no other design, he had caused Major Wynbladth to pass as his domestic, that their difficulties and expences might by that means be diminished.

8. That as to his intention of repairing to Holland, he had no other motive than his having met with a Dutch Captain, who promised him his passage, and that it was, besides, of little consequence to him what country he might go to, provided it were out of the dominions of Russia.

After this examination the Count was conveyed to the fort St. Peter and St. Paul, and there confined in a subterraneous dungeon, separate from Major Wynbladth. On the 23d, in the morning, being the third day of his detention, his prison was opened for the first time, and after three days fast he received a morsel of bread and a pitcher of water. On the same day, in the evening, he was conducted by an officer and six men from his prison to the minister, Count Panin, who was in his cabinet, and who proposed an hundred questions, one after the other, without giving him time to answer, and at last shewing him several papers, from which he affirmed that he was acquainted with all the machinations of the Count, he loaded him with the harshest invectives, advising him to affirm all questions that might be asked in the council, which if he failed to do, he would find himself in a wretched situation. After this mild and friendly advice Count Panin ordered him to be re-conducted to his prison, giving directions that he should be loaded with irons.

On the 23d he was again brought forth, and conducted before the privy council. On his entrance into the place of meeting he beheld twenty Russians seated, each having a sheet of paper before him, and a pen in his hand. Count Panin presided at this council. The person who performed the function of procureur read all the questions which had been made by the Count Csecserin to the Count Benyowsky, and also his answers. Count Panin afterwards ordered the Count Benyowsky to swear that all these answers were conformable to truth, with which he immediately complied. After this preliminary, Count Panin required him to retract his oath, and confess the truth, otherwise he should be put to the torture. This threat, sufficiently horrid to shake the fortitude of the most innocent person, irritated the Count, who replied to the minister, that, as a judge, it ill became him to perform the office of executioner; that justice ought never to have recourse to punishment, before conviction of the accused; and that the council having proposed to the Count to purge himself by oath, it was necessary that his conviction should be founded on proofs that his oath was false, or that otherwise every violent proceeding against him would be an act of barbarity, to which he never could believe that her Majesty the Empress would give her sanction. This answer of the Count, which was written down word for word by the secretary, caused several members of the council to vindicate him against the opinion of Count Panin. These gentlemen observed, that the prisoner, having been convicted of nothing but an attempt to desert, could not be condemned as a state criminal. This observation produced a dispute between the assessors, and the Count was conducted back to his prison; from which he was again brought forth on the morning of the 25th, and conducted before the council, where he was confronted with a Russian gentleman, whom the governor of Cazan had sent to Petersburgh

to be examined by the council. This wretch was the same who had accused the Count to the governor of Cazan. He maintained before the council, that the Count knew of the plot which the Russians had formed against government, that he had encouraged them, and that he himself was the person who had promised the discontented party to assist them with all the prisoners. The president ordered the Count to answer this accusation, which he did, by freely affirming that he had, in several companies of the nobility, heard proposals treated of against the governor of Cazan. That these noblemen had actually made formal propositions to him, to become connected with the party of malecontents, and to engage all the prisoners in their interest; but that as his situation as a prisoner did not require him to abandon his principles and betray them, he had kept the secret; and as far as related to the propositions made to him by the malecontents, he had answered without hesitation, that the prisoners would not engage in any attempt against the government of Cazan, and still less against the interests of the Empress: That it did not become them to intermeddle in the pretensions of the Russian nobility, who alone were to decide their own quarrel, and that the prisoners would patiently suffer their fate, though the discontented nobility might depend upon their services, in the single case only that they should first set them at liberty.

The Russian himself acknowledged that this account was true; after which the Count was returned to prison till the 29th, when he was brought before the council to receive his final judgment. At the commencement of this sitting the president threatened the Count to put him to the torture; but being unable to urge any crime but that of desertion against him, he proposed to the Count to sign a resignation, by which he obliged himself never to serve against the Russians; to quit the empire without delay; and never to return, on pain

of death: Under these conditions Count Panin promised him his liberty. Count Benyowsky did not hesitate to sign his resignation, of which the following is the purport.

I, the undersigned, do acknowledge, that having been seized in my flight from Cazan, and her Imperial Majesty of all the Russias having pardoned me by her natural clemency, I have entered into the present renunciation, never to serve any power against the arms of her Imperial Majesty; and that, upon becoming in possession of my liberty, I promise for ever to quit her dominions, obliging myself, under pain of death, not to enter them again under any pretext whatever. Done at Petersburgh, the 22d of November, 1769.

The Count, after having signed this engagement, instead of being set at liberty was reconducted to his prison, and there confined till the 4th of December, when, about two hours after midnight, an officer with seven soldiers came to him, giving orders that they should take off his chains and clothe him in a sheepskin garment; after which his fetters were again fastened on, and he was conducted into the court of the prison and thrown upon a sledge, to which two horses were harnessed, which immediately set out with the greatest swiftness. The darkness did not permit the Count to discern the objects around him, but the noise of many bells led him to think that he was followed by several sledges, a circumstance which excited a long train of reflections on the fatality and singular circumstances of his destiny.

At the beginning of his journey he conceived some hopes that he was to be conducted into Poland; but at day-break the sight of several villages, through which he had passed after his departure from Cazan, destroyed that hope, and convinced him that he was on his way to Siberia as an exile.

When they rested at noon the Count received a

morsel of dry bread, and on descending from his sledge to mount into another, he perceived Major Wynbladth, who was the companion of his misfortunes. The excessive cold caused the Count to suffer much pain from his wounds, and he was almost frozen when the commander of the convoy made him dismount to pass the night in a cottage. When he recovered the use of his faculties he perceived that he was in company with Major Wynbladth, who not being wounded was better able to support the rigour of the season. In this common state of misfortune it was some consolation that they could see each other and communicate their reflections.

The Russian commander, Prince Maneow, Lieutenant of the troops of the Senate, being affected with their deplorable situation, informed them, in confidence, that his orders were to conduct them to Moscow, from whence they were afterwards to be carried to Tobolzk, and thence to Kamchatka, the place of their exile. He had likewise the politeness to cause them to eat with him.

When they arrived near Moscow their conductor quitted them, and returned with sledges, and a detachment of sixteen soldiers, headed by a Lieutenant, who relieved the Prince Maneow, conducted them forward on their journey. On the 13th of December they arrived at Volodomir, where they were joined by four sledges with four exiles, likewise destined to pass the remainder of their lives at Kamchatka, and from that station they had the consolation of their company. The Count, who was well acquainted with the Russian language, made enquiries concerning these four prisoners. The one was Vassili Vassilics Panow, Lieutenant of the Guards; the second Hippolite Stepanow, Captain of Infantry; the third Asaph Baturin, Colonel of Artillery; and the fourth Ivan Juanies Solmanow, Secretary of the Senate of Moscow. Their escort consisted of forty-six soldiers of Volodomir, under whom they were conducted to Nizney Novogrod, where they arrived on

the 18th, and from thence they were drawn to Kuzemodemjazkoy, a town where their guard was reinforced with one hundred and fifty horsemen, to pass more securely through the government of Cazan, at that time disturbed by the incursions of the Tartars, who, since the departure of the Count, had already committed several acts of hostility, and with whom a party of the prisoners deserted from Cazan had taken refuge. These circumstances occasioned the commander of their party not to stop in any of the villages, but to make the best of his way to the town of Malmitz, situated on the banks of the river Viattka, where the reinforcement left them. From Malmitz they were drawn to Saragut, and thence to Kunzir, from Kunzir to Tuninkz, and from thence to Tobolzk, the capital of Siberia, distant seven hundred and eighty leagues from Petersburgh.

On their arrival they were lodged in the town, each separately with his guard. The Governor, Count Denis Juanovicz Csecserin, brother of the Lieutenant-General of the Police of Petersburgh, a man as remarkable for his humanity, as for the politeness of his behaviour, not only caused the irons of the exiles to be taken off, but likewise afforded them every kind of assistance, even to the furnishing them with linen; and as he was affected with the misery of these unfortunate men, he granted them his permission to pass fourteen days in the town, to recover their health, which was much impaired by hunger and the inclemency of the season. During the whole time that the prisoners remained at Tobolczk they were furnished with provisions from his own kitchen, and on their departure he presented each of them with the sum of fifty roubles, with a quantity of brandy, and likewise five hundred pounds of tobacco, an article of great value at Kamchatka.

We shall here terminate the narrative which we have collected of the adventures of the Count, and shall relate the sequel as it is written with his own hand.

# JOURNAL OF THE TRAVELS

OF THE

# COUNT DE BENYOWSKY

## INTO SIBERIA

IN CONSEQUENCE OF AN ORDER OF THE SENATE OF PETERSBURGH, BY WHICH HE WAS BANISHED TO KAMCHATKA

### CHAPTER I

I WAS born of an illustrious family in Hungary, and served the states of the republic of Poland with some distinction, under whose colours I had the misfortune to be made prisoner by the Russians in open war, after receiving seventeen wounds. This unfortunate event subjected me to every calamity which tyranny can inflict. I was conveyed from one prison to another, and at last condemned to the unhappy state of slavery. In consequence of the order of the Russian Senate for my banishment, I was loaded with fetters, and conducted to Tobolczk, the capital of Siberia, consisting of about five hundred houses, inhabited by Russians and Tartars. It stands at the foot of a mountain, on the top of which is a castle, commanding the town, and serving as a place of residence for the governor.

The garrison of this town usually consists of two regiments of infantry, three squadrons of cavalry, and two or three hundred Cossacks. The governor of

Tobolczk, Count Denis Juanoviecz Csecserin, a man equally estimable for the humanity and generosity of his disposition, caused my fetters to be taken off the first day of my arrival, and, after providing me with a lodging, heaped many favours upon me and Mr. Wynbladth, the companion of my misfortunes. This gentleman was a Major under the confederation, who having shared in my former adventures, was likewise the partner of my banishment. The greatest favour which I obtained from the governor was, doubtless, the use of pen and paper, to dissipate my cares. Precious instrument, which can give the shadow of liberty where the substance exists not! Inestimable gift of art, whose value can be truly estimated by those only who have felt thy loss! With thee I shall still possess the enjoyments of the mind; and by thy assistance my misfortunes and complaints may be transmitted to future times!

I arrived at Tobolczk on the 20th of January, 1770, and as I did not quit this town till the 4th of February, the benevolence and care of the governor enabled me to recover my health and strength to support the voyage with greater courage. The governor, after having loaded me with marks of his favour, which was likewise extended to my five companions, dispatched us for our place of destination, under the escort of a Sottnik of Cossacks, with twenty-four men under his command; at the same time he informed us that our conductor had orders to treat us with kindness. We departed from Tobolczk with sixteen sledges, so that we had a sledge for every two excepting the commander, who had one for himself. The first pause we made was at Sobulak, a village inhabited entirely by Tartars. Our commander lodged us all with him in a house, and promised that this should be the case throughout the journey. We ate with him, and the Cossacks might have been taken for our servants, from the

particular attention which our conductor ordered them to pay us. His example caused the whole troop to omit no means of rendering our journey as agreeable and as comfortable as could be expected in a state of slavery.

On the 5th we departed from Jubalak to continue our journey, and at noon we rested near a river named Supkra to refresh our horses. Our conductor informed us, while his troop was employed in procuring some provisions from the neighbouring villages, that he was the son of a Swedish colonel, who had had the misfortune to be banished, and that he himself, being a native of Siberia, had been inrolled among the Cossacks, over whom he at present was Sottnik, or commander of one hundred men; that since his promotion he had always endeavoured to obtain the charge of the exiles which were to be conducted into Siberia, as it gave him the greatest satisfaction to have an opportunity of alleviating their misfortunes. The free and open manner with which this officer expressed himself, sufficiently showed that he spoke his real sentiments, and it was a great consolation to us to find ourselves under the direction of a virtuous and compassionate man. From Supkra we continued our journey along the banks of the river Jrtiesh, and arrived at the small town of Berenowzky, where we passed the night. At this place we found twenty exiles, who treated us with fish. These unfortunate men assured us, that in the single province of Tobolczky there were upwards of twenty-two thousand exiles, reduced to seek their maintenance by the chace. From Berenowzky we departed on the 6th, and arrived very late in the night at Isirga, a village composed of about fifteen houses, inhabited by exiles; among whom I recognized an Hungarian, who informed me, that he had been Major of one of the regiments of Hussars in the Russian service, commanded by General Horvath; and

that he had the misfortune to be banished for requesting his dismission, in order to return into his own country. He assured me, that he was a gentleman of the family of Orosz. As I ran no risk in conversing with this unfortunate person in the Hungarian language, which was understood by no one present but him and myself, I asked him many questions, and among others, how it happened that so great a number of exiles, reduced to the most extreme misery, had not yet made some attempts to escape; to which he answered, that a considerable number of their companions had already attempted to escape towards Persia, but having been met by the Nogais Tartars they were all slain, and that this event had intimidated the others, and prevented them from following their example. Besides which he informed me of so many obstacles, that at last I was convinced of the great difficulty of escaping from exile at Tobolczky, and reflected with great satisfaction that my destination was to Kamchatka, on the sea coast, though I am persuaded that there is no country whatever in which liberty may not be gained by an association of resolute men, inspired with the love of independence.

On the 7th, after having passed the river Isirga, we arrived at Juska, a village inhabited by Tartars, who regaled us with mare's milk and horse flesh. The excessive cold and the wind, which threw up the snow in whirlwinds and drifts, forced our commander to remain at this village four days. We quitted it on the 11th, early in the morning, and about noon we rested on the banks of a river, over which we forded, and from whence we proceeded to Ahusca, a village situated on the banks of a river of the same name, which falls into the river Irtisck. Here we passed the night, and the next day proceeded to Tara, the capital of the province of the same name. The commander of our troop proposed to pass some days in this town, on

account of the severity of the weather, as well as that we might rest ourselves, and be better enabled to support the fatigues of the rest of our journey, which was to be made without sledges. During our stay at Tara the commandant allowed us the liberty of walking in the town, and even in the environs: his friendly disposition towards us extended so far, that he prevailed on the Voivode to invite us to dinner, and afterwards persuaded several of the inhabitants to make us presents. These consisted of habits for the season, and a considerable quantity of brandy.

On the 22d we at length quitted Tara, and after having repassed the river Irtiska we arrived at Luky, a village inhabited by Tartars; from whence we continued through immense woods and over lofty mountains, where we all suffered greatly from fatigue, and more especially myself, who was covered with wounds. Our days journies were very short, our nights passed in the midst of snow, and our horses had no other food than moss. On the 3d of April, being encamped on the river Om, we were surprized by a band of Tartars of the hord of Barabuts. On their first appearance we requested the commandant to supply us with arms to defend ourselves, and immediately mounted our horses. The Tartars approached, observed us for a moment, and passed by, full gallop, without molesting us. After their departure we crossed the river Om, and continued our march to the river Juakra, on the borders of which we pitched our tents. At day-break, just at the moment we mounted our horses, we discovered a troop of armed men on foot, who called out to us, in the Russian language, to wait for them, which our conductor caused us to do. On their arrival they saluted us, and afterwards addressing our chief, they proposed many questions respecting our situation, which, when they learned, they condoled with us, and informed us that they were our partners

in misfortune, having been exiled into Siberia, and that for ten years past they had subsisted merely by the chace and fishing. Their number amounted to sixty-three men, who apparently had some enterprize in contemplation. Our commander, who was apprehensive of bad consequences from their company, proposed to part, but they compelled him to remain three days on the spot.

These huntsmen, finding our provision of brandy excellent, did not suffer us to depart but with regret: at length, however, being delivered from these importunate people, we quitted the river Juakra, and marched towards Bogorodekoy, where we arrived on the 11th. From Bogorodekoy we crossed the river Oby, and on the 17th we arrived at Tomszky, a town regularly enough built, but peopled, for the most part, with Tartars. It is situated on the banks of the river Tomszky, and, for its defence, is provided with a kind of fort, in which the Voivode of the province resides, with four hundred soldiers and eight hundred Cossacks. The governor's name was Villeneuf, of French origin, Lieutenant-Colonel in the service of Russia, and formerly an exile. He received us with humanity, and by the persuasion of our conductor, permitted us to remain in the town till the 10th of May, in order to avoid the inclemency of the season, which was so much the more dangerous, as the weather is always extremely wet at the latter end of April and the beginning of May.

We passed our time not disagreeably at Tomszky, because the Tartars, being informed by our conductor, that we had the misfortune to be made prisoners of war when fighting in conjunction with the Turkish army, made it a point of religion to assist us. Among others a dealer in sables interested himself more particularly in my welfare. He proposed to me to make my escape towards China, and expressed his readiness to run the risk of accompanying me. He informed me that he

was born in the hord of Kantay, in the country of Kalkaz, on the borders of China, and was perfectly acquainted with the road thither. I should have accepted his proposal with joy, if the difficulty, or rather the impossibility, of travelling at least three hundred leagues on foot had not detained me. The deplorable situation to which my wounds had reduced me was sufficient to convince him of the impossibility of my accepting his proposition. He therefore loaded me with presents, which, whether they came from him alone, or from the whole body of Tartars of Tomszky, amounted to more than nine hundred roubles, a sum which we divided amongst us, and out of which we were desirous of making a present to our conductor. But this generous man refused to accept of the smallest trifle, and assured us, that on our arrival at Kamchatka we should find sufficient occasion for our money.

## CHAPTER II

On the 11th of May we at length quitted the town of Tomszky, and passed through a desert country covered with woods and mountains, always encamped in the snow, and after fourteen days most painful march we were necessitated to reduce our allowance to half a pound of biscuit per day. Being thus exhausted by hunger and fatigue, after losing eight Cossacks and twelve horses on the road, we at length arrived on the 18th at Juska Krasnoiarszk, a town situated on the banks of the great river Jenisea: it consists of about thirty houses, inhabited by Russian exiles; the fort, more properly called the miserable intrenchment, in which the house of the Voivode is built, is a raised square surrounded with palisades, and the garrison which defends it is composed only of twenty soldiers, who are likewise exiles.

The Voivode of this province, famous for its misery, lodged us in his fortress, and did not condescend to see us till our conductor had informed him that we intended making him a present. This news, which our conductor likewise communicated to us, occasioned the Governor to invite us to supper; and he did not disdain the acceptance of sixty roubles as a present, and for a like sum he sold us a small barrel of brandy, containing about eighteen bottles.

On the 19th, in the morning, the Voivode pressed

our conductor to depart, and we quitted this place about noon. The continuation of our journey was not more agreeable than that from Tomszk. No object presented itself to our eyes but an immense plain of snow, here and there interrupted by mountains. Every succeeding day became more fatiguing. We lost almost all our horses, and we passed the two chains of mountains which separate the government of Illimsk from that of Jeniseisk, almost dying with hunger, having no other subsistence than the bark of the birch tree steeped in water. At length however we arrived on the 25th of July, and the 26th day of our march, on the banks of the river Angara, where we had the good fortune to meet a hord of Tungus Tartars, who gave us four elks, with a provision of dry fish, in exchange for tobacco and brandy.

On the 26th we arrived at Illimsk, the capital of the province of the same name, situated on the banks of the river Illima. This town possesses a considerable trade, arising from the quantity of furs deposited here, which the exiles keep till the arrival of the Russian merchants, who purchase them in exchange for European provisions and export them to China. They usually gain 200 per cent. on the merchandizes of Europe, and on their arrival at China they again redouble their profit on the furs. The following is nearly the rate at which the merchandize of Europe is sold to the hunters and exiles of this place: one pound of gunpowder, three roubles; one pound of tobacco, one rouble and a half; forty pounds of flour, five roubles; ten pounds of butter, six roubles; a barrel of brandy of eighteen pints, fifty roubles; and in proportion to these values they barter or purchase one sable's skin for one rouble; one black fox's skin, three roubles; one bear's skin, half a rouble; fifty skins of the northern squirrel, (petit gris) one rouble; one hundred skins of the white rabbit, one rouble; twenty-four skins of ermins, one rouble, &c. &c.

The Voivode of this province, after having supplied us with six elks and twenty pounds of flour for our provision, dispatched us to Ustkotskoy a village situated on the banks of the Lena, where we embarked in canoes, made of the bark of birch, in order to hasten our journey. We passed down the river Lena, which runs by Jakutszk, and after running through all the northern part of Siberia empties itself into the frozen sea. Our voyage by water was very commodious and agreeable on account of the beauty of the season, and we happily arrived at Jakutszk on the 20th of August, where we were all lodged in one house, having for our guard only four soldiers, commanded by a serjeant, who relieved our conductor.

The town of Jakutszk, which is situated in the sixty second degree of north latitude, is the capital of a province of the same name. It is composed of 130 houses and a fortress, the whole built of wood, and inhabited either by exiles or Cossacks, a kind of military which the government has formed by enrolling all the male children of the Swedes and Germans formerly exiled into Siberia. This troop is usually employed by government to levy tribute on the Tartars who are subject to Russia. Their number, in the year 1764, amounted to twelve thousand armed men.

During our stay at this place I became acquainted with several Greek merchants to whom the Empress had granted the exclusive privilege of the fur trade in this province, in consideration of the sum of thirty thousand roubles. They assured me they had already gained above eighty thousand roubles besides the purchase money; but that being obliged to share that sum with governors and ministers, for the support of their rights, this trade had not been extremely advantageous, especially since the war with Turky had, during the last three years, interrupted the freedom of commerce. I likewise became acquainted with several exiles, from whom I learned that there were thirty-five officers exiled

in that town, and that their number in that single province amounted to four hundred and twenty-five men. All these unfortunate persons lamented the departure of Mons. de Brin, a Frenchman, Colonel in the service of Russia, who had, during five years been Voivode of the province; and who, unfortunately for them, had been relieved by a Russian as remarkable for his cruelty and barbarity as his predecessor was for his generosity and goodness.

On the third day after my arrival in this city I received a visit from the Sieur Hoffman, a Surgeon, who was sent from Petersburgh to Kamchatka, to exercise his profession as Surgeon Major of the Government, with a salary of one thousand five hundred roubles. At our first meeting I perceived, from his conversation, that he possessed a penetrating mind and a worthy and amiable disposition. The account I gave of my misfortunes, and the excess of barbarity under which I had long suffered, affected him greatly; and as he considered his mission to Kamchatka as an exile, he did not hesitate to propose, without any previous overture from me, his opinion that on our arrival at Kamchatka, we should direct our attention to an escape by the way of sea, either to Japan or China; and that he saw no other difficulty than the procuring sailors to conduct the vessel, which he proposed to purchase under the pretence of employing it in fishing. This proposition convinced me that he was determined to share my fate. I therefore assured him that he needed not be uneasy with regard to navigating the vessel, because I was sufficiently capable of undertaking that task by virtue of the experience I had acquired during several voyages. I likewise informed him that it was with the greatest satisfaction that I learned his resolution, which I had myself conceived and formed from the first instant that I heard that Kamchatka was the place of my exile; and that provided he continued in the same opinion, and

kept the most profound secrecy, I would answer for its success.

From that day our discourse was continually directed to the means of securing our escape. I ran no hazard in making this proposal to my companions, who, during the whole journey, had shewn me the most particular respect, which was increased by the junction of Mr. Hoffman, who united himself to us by oath.

On the 29th of August the company elected me their chief; it was composed of Mr. Hoffman, Major Winbladth, Captain Panow, Captain Hoppolite Stephano, Colonel Baturin, and Secretary Sopronow. The ardent desire which we all had to carry our design into execution, induced us to use our endeavours with the Voivode to dispatch us to Ochoczk, a sea port in Siberia, from whence we were to embark for Kamchatka. He readily acceded to our wishes, and dispatched us on the 29th of the same month under the guard of two Szottnik, or captains, with twelve Cossacks under their command. Mr. Hoffman unfortunately could not depart with us, on account of the necessity of carrying his effects with him. On our departure from Jakutzk we were attended by most of the exiles, who regaled us with a good dinner on the banks of the river Lena. Among these unhappy men were two Russian Lords, of the family of Gurgiew, both young, who, after having served in the guards of the Empress, were exiled by her orders on the death of the late Emperor. The new manner of travelling on sledges drawn by elks was very agreeable to us. The swiftness and agility with which these animals run can hardly be conceived, and their manner of subsisting is still more surprising: an handful of moss mixed with urine, enables them to support the fatigue of three or four days.

The sixth day after our departure we arrived on the banks of the river Tola, where we were obliged to remain two days, because our conductor thought proper

to employ that time in visiting the Tartar chiefs of the hord Jakutti, to extort presents from them, of which they brought a tolerable large quantity in skins of martins, foxes, and roszomak, an animal peculiar to this province. Its figure nearly resembles that of the European wolf, and its skin has the same appearance, excepting that its colour is a glossy black. The women in Siberia make bonnets of this skin.

On the 3d of September we passed the river Tola, and continued our journey without interruption thus far, excepting a difference which happened among our conductors, during the time our camp was pitched on the banks of this river, where they made a stop for the purpose of gambling, an occupation which they had strenuously followed ever since our departure from Jakutzk. One of the Cossacks having lost all his provisions in play against the chief, thought proper to indulge himself in some disrespectful expressions, upon which the Commander ordered the Cossacks to tie him up and give him one hundred lashes with the whip. Instead, however, of executing the orders of their commander, the Cossacks took the part of the culprit, and after having stripped their officer naked, entertained him with more than three hundred stripes; an operation, which, though we bore no part in it, nevertheless afforded us some diversion.

This adventure was quickly followed by an event which greatly alarmed us. We were informed by a Cossack, sent express from Jakutzk, that Mr. Hoffman was dead, and that, after his decease, the governor had found certain interesting papers among his effects, which he had forwarded to the governor of Ochoczk, in a packet, to be put into the hands of our conductor, addressed to Mr. Plenisner, Commandant of that town, recommending to him not to send us to Kamchatka. This relation convinced us that the Sieur Hoffman had either written some letters to his friends at Petersburgh,

in which he informed them of his project, or that he had made some notes relative to our affair. After many suppositions, we concluded that the Governor at least suspected our project, if he was not entirely convinced of it; and that he had sent dispatches to the Governor of Ochoczk, in consequence of which, it was probable we might be sent to prison a second time. In this situation, I proposed to my companions to seize the packet and change the contents by the assistance of Mr. Sophronow, who having been Secretary, might draw up a letter to our advantage, to be included among the other papers. My proposition was accepted by my companions, and we immediately determined to avail ourselves of every means of executing it. An opportunity soon after presented itself. On the 11th of September, as we were passing the river Aldan in boats, our elks at the same time swimming over, the boat in which our conductor was placed with his dispatches was overset by the malice of the Cossacks; who, after having well flogged him, were desirous of playing another trick, to disembarrass themselves entirely of his company. It was a happy circumstance for him that he was a good swimmer, and quickly reached the shore. The readiness with which I ran to his assistance, and the suspicions he had of his Cossacks, led him to attach himself to me, and that more especially, because he observed that my companions treated me with respect, and of course that I might be very useful in defending him, in case the Cossacks should hereafter make any attempts against his safety.

This rough passage over the river Aldan obliged our conductors to halt, in order to dry their cloaths, and I seized the occasion to treat them with brandy, at the same time that I engaged them in a gaming party. My stratagem succeeded so well, that after having consumed nine pints of brandy, they every one fell asleep. During this period of insensibility we seized

the dispatches, which we found drawn up in such terms as were calculated to render our captivity extremely wretched, and shewed that we had every reason to congratulate ourselves on the lucky chance which offered itself. The letter of the commandant of Jakutzk to the commanding officer of Ochoczk was to the following effect:—

"The two Szottnik, Kolosow and Rostarguew, "conduct six prisoners of state, sent by order of the "Senate as exiles to Kamchatka, whom you are desired "to confine in prison without delay, and keep them "safe until you shall receive from me more ample "information respecting their conduct and designs, "in order that you may then examine them with the "utmost strictness. My present knowledge respecting "them is as follows: On their arrival at Jakutzk I "took pity on them, and allowed them the liberty of "walking about the town; but they abused my favour, "by exciting several of the exiles to revolt, and one in "particular among them, named Maurice Augustovicz, "has been artful enough to gain over to his interests "the Surgeon Hoffman, who promised to join with "him at Kamchatka, to procure a ship, that they might "deliver all the exiles of Kamchatka. I was informed "of this abominable project by one of the exiles, to "whom the Sieur Hoffman had spoken in confidence "before his decease. I have found several papers "among his effects after his death, which I do not "understand, because written in the German language, "but which I send you, in hopes that you may be able "to discover their contents. Supposing, however, that "these wretches have no other design than that of "making their escape, which, however, I do not con-"ceive to be the case, it becomes necessary to look "strictly after them, and I advise you not to send "them to Kamchatka this year. I shall transmit an "account of this event in my first dispatches to the

" Senate, and request their orders, which you cannot " receive in less than a year."

We examined the other papers of the Sieur Hoffman, but found nothing which tended to betray us. There was no other paper among the dispatches but the Governor's letter, which could have injured us, for which reason we contented ourselves with changing it for another, to the following tenor:

" Sir,

" The two Szottnik, Kolosow and Rostarguew, " conduct six prisoners of state, sent into exile to " Kamchatka, by order of the Senate. After I became " acquainted with them, I found their behaviour such " as led me to interest myself in their favour, and " convinced me that they are all men of honour, " especially the two foreigners, who are merely prisoners " of war. My disposition to assist the unfortunate " induces me to write to you in their favour. Is it not " practicable to allow them a certain degree of liberty " in your town, to preserve them from the scurvy, a " disorder which is so dangerous in your port? You " will run no risk in allowing these unfortunate men a " certain degree of liberty, for it is impossible that " they should make an ill use of your confidence. The " surgeon Hoffman, who was about to repair to " Kamchatka, is dead, and I have no person to appoint " in his place. One of these prisoners is of the same " profession. I see no inconvenience in recommending " him to the governor of Kamchatka, who being un- " provided will, doubtless, be glad to avail himself of " his services. The papers which accompany this belong " to the late Mr. Hoffman. I send them that you may " procure a translation, and afford some explanation " relative to his property, as I have reason to think he " possessed some share in the company of hunters. " With every wish for your prosperity, I am, &c."

After having thus carried our project into execution,

we dismissed our fears, and our satisfaction was complete when we were assured, after the waking of our conductors, that they had not observed any alteration in the packets. We continued our journey peaceably enough to the river Inna, on the banks of which we arrived on the 20th of September. The prodigious quantity of fish which we observed in this river caused us to remain on the spot two days, when we departed with a considerable provision of fish, and continued our journey constantly due east. We passed over very lofty mountains and dreadful precipices. The cold was so extreme near the summits of the mountains, that two of our conductors were frozen to death.

## CHAPTER III

On the 29th we arrived at a village composed of six houses, inhabited by exiles, and situated on the banks of the river Judoma. At this place we were provided with sledges drawn by dogs, for the rest of our journey to Ochoczk. Though Judoma is composed only of six wretched houses, the place is well known, because it is the rendezvous of several Tunguse nations, and some hords of Mongols, who repair thither to trade with the hunters [promisleny]. It is by this contraband intercourse that the most beautiful skins pass into China without paying any duties; and it would be difficult for government to put a stop to it, because all the Cossacks, and their chiefs, are interested. In the month of November they meet at Judoma, to the number of four or five hundred armed men; besides which it is a part of the policy of government to wink at this contravention, as it would be dangerous to excite the Siberians to revolt; the slightest disturbance would arm the inhabitants, and, if this should once happen, Siberia would be for ever lost to Russia.

After our departure from Judoma we passed over a dreadful chain of mountains, where we were excessively fatigued, because we were entirely ignorant of the manner of driving the dogs. More than once I fell down descents of above sixty feet in depth, together with the dogs and sledges; but it is one fortunate

circumstance, that in this country there is no falling but among snow, so that I suffered little more on these occasions than a few bruises. When we had crossed the mountains our journey was more agreeable, for we passed without danger along the banks of the river Urak, where, if my situation had been less wretched, I might have received some pleasure from the prospect around me. It consisted of immense mountains, standing separate on the vast extent of a sea of snow; a view which affected the mind with a sense of magnificence and terror united.

On the 16th of October we at last arrived at Ochoczk, where we were immediately conducted to the Chancery, and thence to our respective quarters, with four Cossacks, and an Attamen or Corporal, as guards for each. The commanding officer of this town, and of the whole province, was Mr. Plenisner, a native of Courland, exiled in the time of the Empress Elizabeth. I cannot determine whether we were indebted to our stratagem of counterfeiting a letter from the Voivode of Jakutzk, or to his natural disposition, for the goodness he shewed to us. On the first day of our arrival we were very commodiously lodged in the houses of towns-people, who were in very good circumstances, and it was at the same time intimated to us, that we might enjoy full liberty and go out whenever we pleased, provided we took a guard with us.

The town of Ochoczk is situated in fifty-nine degrees seventeen minutes north latitude, and three hundred and forty-eight degrees ten minutes longitude, from the meridian of Kamchatka. It is very indifferently built of wood, and stands on the banks of the river Ochota, the mouth of which is defended by what they call a fortress, though it is nothing more than a simple square surrounded with pallisades, and provided with a four-pounder at each angle. The garrison of this fortress is nevertheless composed of four hundred and

eighty soldiers, all exiles from the European troops. The town contains three hundred and twenty-two houses, inhabited by exiles, who, since the year 1741, the time of the expedition of Captain Beering, have applied themselves to sea affairs. Their number may amount to about nine hundred men. Ochoczk is the storehouse of the commerce of Kamchatka. The Governor is nominated chief of all the colleges, of which there are four, established at this place, viz. the College of Admiralty, the College of War, the College of Commerce, and the College of Police and Administration. These denominations at first appeared striking and important to me, but the charm soon disappeared, when I found that the members who composed them were brutes, whose only merit was placed in continual licentiousness and debauchery. I have often seen many of these members five or six days together in a continued state of intoxication. The rich furs which the Koraks, Lamuths and Tunguses, who are in subjection to the Russian government, and whose number amounts to forty-two thousand souls, pay as a tribute to government, and of which the imposition is arbitrarily varied, according to the interest of these members, who in turn perform the function of Collector, supply them with the means of obtaining strong liquors, whatever may be their prices, and they do not fail to drown their cares in brandy.

Two years before my arrival a battery had been erected on the point of land which closes the entrance of the river, in order to defend the town from the incursions of the independent Koraks and Tsuktsy, two savage nations who inhabit the northern part of the province, and are irreconcileable enemies of the Russians. They maintain a correspondence with the subjected Koraks and the Tunguses, which circumstance finds government sufficient business to prevent their confederation. The disposition of these people caused an

alarm in the government during my stay; for thirty Cossacks having deserted from Ochoczk gave them reason to fear that their design was to collect these nations together; but this apprehension was dissipated by the information which was received, that the deserters had directed their course towards the river Amur.

The port of Ochoczk, which at the deepest contains no more than nineteen feet of water, is formed by the river Ochota, which in its course has worn a bay. The entrance is N. $\frac{1}{4}$ W. I found in the port two vessels of two hundred and fifty tons each, and eleven others, the largest of which was three hundred and fifty tons burthen, and the smallest eighty. These vessels were designed either to make discoveries on the coast of California, or to carry provisions to the different ports of Kamchatka, or were freighted by individuals, who make expeditions in the islands Kurilles, Aleuthes, and Alaksa, to chase beavers, foxes, and bears. The harbour-master, Lieutenant Sind, informed me, that during the last year the Captains Kreniczin and Levascheff, who were sent by order of the Empress on a voyage of discovery, had armed two vessels, one the St. Peter and St. Paul, and the other named the Elizabeth, with which they departed to examine the coast of California; but that they returned without doing any thing, under the pretence that their crews had mutinied, though the true reason for their want of success consisted in their ignorance and want of experience.

Being desirous of profiting by my stay in this place, I enquired of different persons concerning the interests of Russia, the population of Siberia, the history of the country, the customs, manners, and usages of its inhabitants, their prejudices, and treaties between one nation and another; but as this subject is in some respect foreign to the purpose intended in the present narrative, I shall content myself with annexing my ideas in the form of a supplement to the present memoir, and

shall only observe in this place, that Ochoczk and Kamchatka are become places of great importance to Russia, from the yearly increase of revenue their commerce affords to that empire. The following is a short statement of what I learned from the Secretary of the Chancery: The importation of beaver skins, one year with another, amounts to sixteen thousand; of sables twenty-three thousand; of ermines one hundred and eighty-four thousand; of black foxes two thousand five hundred; of rossomaks seven thousand; of the common fox fourteen thousand; of the northern squirrel thirty-six thousand; of pesci and rabbits twenty-five thousand; of sea wolves six thousand; and of bears four or five thousand. These articles are conveyed to Jeniseisk, in exchange for brandy, tobacco, flour, coarse cloth, silk, &c. the intrinsic value of which does not exceed two hundred thousand roubles, though the amount of the sale of the furs in China is near two millions of roubles. From this statement it is evident that Russia cannot but gain immense capitals by this commerce.

The time of my stay at Ochoczk was very agreeable; but as I had reason to fear that the governor of Jakutzk would discover our plot in his next dispatches, I persuaded my companions unanimously to request orders for our departure, and to engage the governor to dismiss us for Kamchatka as soon as possible. This officer was likewise urged by its being the season to dispatch vessels to Kamchatka, and accordingly embarked us on board the packet St. Peter and St. Paul, of two hundred and forty tons burthen, with eight pieces of cannon and forty-three men, commanded by the Sieurs Esuryn and Korostilow; their lading was one hundred and forty-two sacks of flour, each containing one hundred pounds; two hundred barrels of brandy, each containing twenty-five pints; and the rest of the cargo belonged to several merchants, by whom it was freighted. On our arrival

on board we were received very roughly by the second in command, who, after having indulged himself in a set of invectives, caused us to be chained and confined before the mast, with orders to employ us in the meanest labour. As we had already been accustomed to a small portion of liberty, our situation afflicted us not a little; but it lasted only one day, for on the arrival of the captain we were delivered from our fetters, and had the satisfaction to see our enemy punished with fifty strokes of the knout for having acted without orders.

The journal of our navigation is not sufficiently interesting to be given in detail; I shall, therefore, speak only of the leading circumstances. On the 22d of November we dropped down the river to its mouth, where we moored in two fathoms and three quarters water, the wind being north. On the 23d we set sail, the wind having changed to the north-west, with a very hollow sea and considerable cold. On the 24th a violent tempest arose, which obliged us to lay-to, the wind being then south-west; the gale increased in the night, and the Captain, with all his men, having got drunk on the occasion, a favourable opportunity presented itself to seize this vessel, thus abandoned to the fury of the elements. Unfortunately for us, however, the swell of the sea, and repeated squalls of wind, prevented our executing an attempt of this nature. On the 25th, in the night, the wind, after veering all round the compass, fixed at north-east, and continued to blow with extraordinary violence. About three in the morning our main-mast sprung, and we carried away the mizen-topmast; so that nothing remained standing but the mizen-mast. The noise of these disasters roused the Captain, who crawled out of his cabin to give us orders, but part of the wreck falling upon him, broke his arm, and rendered him incapable of attending his duty, in which, indeed, he would have had no opportunity of displaying much management, as the

whole of our masts, yards, and rigging, was nearly unserviceable. In this situation of extreme necessity we redoubled our efforts to repel the danger, and the sailors, drunk as they were, seemed well aware of the utility of our services. Some of them joined us, and with hearty curses on their officers for ignorant and drunken wretches, swore that they would obey our orders. The Captain, who was likewise persuaded that he was indebted to our efforts for his preservation, and being afraid to put the command into the hands of his mate, whom he had hitherto kept in irons, declared loudly that he entrusted the conduct of the vessel to my care till he should be himself able to attend to it.

On the 26th about noon the wind slackened, and after much labour I set the fore-sail by passing a stay from the bowsprit to the stump of the main-mast. At five in the afternoon the wind changed to north-west, and slackened, so that we set the mizen and mizen-stay-sail; but we could not keep her to her course long, for the wind changed again to east-south-east, which obliged me to close hawl, in which situation we made our course good between south and south one quarter west. On the 27th we saw land, and by a meridian observation the latitude was fifty-four degrees seventeen minutes. The sailors affirmed that the land was the island of Sachalin. Our situation tempted me to seize this occasion of escaping from slavery: I therefore proposed to the crew to anchor on the coast of Korea, to repair our masts and trim our cargo, which had shifted in such a manner as to endanger our over-setting, in case we should be visited by a gale of wind like the former. Notwithstanding this, however, all the rhetoric I could use was incapable of prevailing over the crew, who, being encouraged by the appearance of settled weather, obliged me to bear away from the coast of Korea. It was in vain that I made use of iron and garlick to falsify the compass. This stratagem, perhaps, might

succeeded if the wind had not changed; but it
nly set in between the south-west and south south-
and thus forced me, in spite of my inclination,
ect my course for Kamchatka. On the 1st of
nber we discovered land, which the sailors perceived
the mountain of Alaksa, and from their informa-
respecting the land marks I brought the vessel
the mouth of the Bolsa.

## CHAPTER IV

On the 2d, at high water, we entered the port; and in this place my command terminated. On the 3d we were set on shore, and lodged in a yourth, which is a kind of house built of earth, the roof alone being visible above ground. We were guarded by four soldiers, eight Cossacks, and a serjeant. About noon we saw several vessels, which dropped down the river; they were of the kind called Bajdara in the language of the country, formed of very thin planks, fastened together with whale-bone, or covered with sea wolves skins, well sewed together. One of these vessels conveyed a Russian officer, with ten Cossacks, deputed from the Governor of Kamchatka to receive the packets from court, and take the exiles under his guard. The officer went first on board the vessel, and afterwards on shore, where he relieved our guard by his Cossacks. A certain something, which, according to his own expression, struck him at first sight of me, excited his curiosity to know who I was, which I satisfied laconically by answering, "a soldier, once a general, but now a slave." This answer surprised him, and, as he has since protested, conciliated his esteem. When he learned that my companions were likewise officers, he presented us with a dinner according to the custom of the country, which consisted of boiled fish, roasted fish, and fish powdered and made into bread. This cookery would have

disgusted famine itself, but the thing which the most effectually overset my stomach was the drink; it was composed of fish putrified in water, the corruption of which gives the water a certain sourness. During the dinner, at which it might be of some service to the epicures of our great towns to have been present, the conversation turned on the manners and customs of the country, and the conclusion in every case was, that there is not a more miserable country on the face of the earth. After dinner the officer caused us to embark in his boats, two in each, and conducted us to the town called Bolsoretzkoy Ostrogg.

After rowing four verstes we met four vessels, with men on board very well cloathed. They stopped to question us concerning Europe, but when they were informed by our guards that we were exiles, we were surprized to behold their change of countenance, and the joy and satisfaction, which they could not conceal. We supposed their offers of service and demonstrations of gladness were mockery, and as we thought ourselves justly offended, we threatened vengeance if they continued to insult our misfortunes, and most assuredly we should have returned the supposed insult, if the commander of our convoy had not informed us that our quarrel was founded in misunderstanding, and assured us that our supposed antagonists were companions in misfortune, being exiles as well as ourselves. The similarity of our fate and misfortunes produced an instantaneous friendship, and their first transports of joy, which were founded only on the hope of finding some consolation in our society, were succeeded by tears. They gave us an affecting account of their situation, and the cruelty with which they were treated; and their recital confirmed us in the opinion, that there is no slavery more dreadful than that of an exile at Kamchatka. I assured them that we set the highest value on their good wishes, and in the name of all my companions

testified our ardent desire to continue in friendship, and maintain an indissoluble connection with them. The first moment of conversation afforded me a favourable opportunity of establishing a system of union among the exiles; for they did not fail to inform me that many among themselves were continually caballing about the governor, in hopes of gaining his favour at the expence of their companions. My observations on this subject appeared to act strongly upon them, and they protested that they would embrace the earliest opportunity of assembling all our friends, to determine upon the establishment of a certain order among them, and that they believed they could not do better than to acknowledge me as their chief, &c. This declaration was very flattering to me, and I have since been perfectly convinced of the advantages of the steps they proposed to take.

The officer, fearing to be benighted, pressed us to continue our journey. Our new companions changed their course to accompany us, and during this short voyage the assurances and protestations of the most sincere friendship were a hundred times repeated. They promised that we should find conveniences in their habitations sufficient to permit us to rest a few days after our fatigue; but that it would soon after be necessary to labour, in order to secure ourselves from famine. Their accounts of the place entirely disheartened my companions; but as to myself, who have always laid it down as a principle to do everything in my power to prevent the greatest evils, to overcome the present, and to give myself little concern for the future, I was only attentive to such parts of their narration as tended to render me acquainted with our situation, and the possibility of delivering ourselves from it. My conclusions were nearly as follows: 1. That liberty was granted to us merely for the purpose of earning a subsistence, of which we could not assure ourselves without the most

unremitted labour. 2. That it was of the greatest consequence that I should gain the favour of the governor, in order to obtain permission, on some future occasion, to arm a vessel to hunt the beaver, in order that we might make our escape on that first occasion. 3. That it was necessary to establish an union among all the exiles, and to cause them to adopt a certain deference for me. 4. That it was absolutely necessary to invent some method of keeping the secret, on the confidence of which I might be enabled to confer with many individuals respecting our departure.

My mind was so occupied in the adjustment of these concerns that I paid very little attention to the circumstances of our voyage: we arrived, therefore, insensibly, at the close of the day, to the town; where, on our landing, we were shut up in a house opposite the fortress. On the 4th, at ten in the morning, we were conducted by our guards before the governor, Mr. Nilow, who having been informed of the services I had performed in the course of our navigation, received me very civilly, and thanked me for the care and pains I had taken in preserving the ship. After which he separately examined us respecting our quality, causes of our exile, &c. and lastly ordered us to go before the secretary of the chancery, Mr. Sudeikyn, who, he informed us, would give us more ample instructions respecting our future situation, which, as far as depended upon himself, he would not fail to mitigate, provided we behaved ourselves with obedience, and performed our duty in a peaceable manner, by remitting the hyassak or tribute to the chancery which should be prescribed. After this fine speech he caused us to be led to the secretary, whom we found in the chancery office; the governor's servant put a paper into his hands, which he read, and then assured us that we might esteem it a great happiness that we were sent to Kamchatka, as there was not a better disposed gentleman in the

whole world than the governor; and that, with regard to himself, he was a gentleman of distinction honoured with the peculiar confidence of her Majesty the Empress; and moreover, that he was disposed to protect us in the most effectual manner. I returned him our thanks for his goodness in interesting himself in favour of the unfortunate, and intreated him to inform us of our duty, and the mode of conduct to which it was expected we should conform; in answer to this he acquainted us,

1. That we should be set at liberty on the following day, and provided with subsistence for three days, after which we must depend upon ourselves for our maintenance.

2. That each person would receive from the chancery, a musquet and a lance, with one pound of powder, four pounds of lead, a hatchet, several knives, and other instruments and carpenters tools, with which we might build cabins, and that we were at liberty to choose our situations at the distance of one league from the town; but that we should be bound to pay in furs, during the first year, each one hundred roubles, in return for these advantages.

3. That every one must work at the corvee one day in the week for the service of government, and that we might not absent ourselves from our houses for twenty-four hours without the permission of the governor.

4. That each exile should bring to the chancery six sable skins, fifty rabbits skins, two foxes skins, and twenty-four ermines per annum.

After this information the secretary dismissed our guards and caused provisions for three days to be immediately distributed, the whole consisting of nine pounds of dried fish. We then quitted the chancery and went directly to the magazine to receive our arms and utensils, which were carefully delivered to us according to our choice, for the store-keeper permitted us to choose, in consequence of our having promised

him some furs. It was with the greatest pleasure that I again beheld myself armed; and my companions received equal satisfaction from the same circumstance. When we came out of the magazine we perceived twenty exiles, who had brought some sledges drawn by dogs to assist in carrying our charge, and who offered us the use of their cabins until we should have built our own. We accepted their invitation, and departed towards their home. Their repeated marks of civility were exceedingly fatiguing to us who were in a state of extreme hunger, but at length, about three in the afternoon, we arrived at their habitations, which formed a small village composed of eight cabins, and the same number of balagans, or magazines. In the centre of the village we perceived a long square building, which our new companions informed us was their public hall of meeting.

The number of these unfortunate men was twenty-three, and there were about thirty women living with them; among these I remarked that a person of the name of Crustiew possessed a considerable degree of authority, and I soon perceived that it was his house into which we were received. He caused us to sit in his yourth round the fire, while the women presented us with brandy and dried fish, and afterwards tea and butter; this breakfast was followed by a dinner, which consisted entirely of fish, and we were not without a desert, composed of caviar and cedar nuts. Our dinner passed in great silence, because we were busied in filling our empty stomachs; but when we had performed this task, the conversation began by enquiries on our part respecting our present situation: the accounts we received served only to render us more intimately acquainted with the extent of our misfortunes. The following are the chief particulars concerning which we were informed:

1. That the ordinances of the Czar Peter enacted,

that no exile could possess property; and that in consequence of this edict the soldiers of the garrison frequently entered the houses of the exiles and carried away whatever they pleased, against which depredation the exiles had no remedy.

2. That in case an exile should have been so rash as to strike a citizen or soldier, though upon provocation, he was condemned to die of hunger.

3. That on account of their being declared exiles from civil society, every faithful subject was prohibited from receiving them into their houses.

4. That their lives being granted them for no other purpose than to implore the mercy of God and the remission of their sins, they could be employed only in the meanest works to gain their daily subsistence.

The knowledge of these articles made me tremble with horror and indignation; this, exclaimed I to myself, is the legislation of a man revered by all Europe! But as I had no design of patiently enduring the unhappy state of such a slavery, the account only encreased my ardour and my efforts to deliver myself from it. As the first step, I determined to speak privately to Mr. Crustiew, who had an ascendancy over the others; and who, on account of his having resided eight years at Kamchatka, could easily afford me every necessary information.

After our conversation had turned for a considerable time upon the disagreeable events of the life into which we were about to enter, and our hosts having assured us that there were some among them who had groaned under this slavery for twenty-six years, Mr. Panow, one of my companions, who during the whole discourse had appeared absorbed in contemplation, suddenly exclaimed, "How is it possible, my friends, that brave men like "you can have endured this unhappy fate without "having made some attempt to deliver yourselves from "tyranny? You are afraid of death then, and in this

" case I fear we shall find no true associates in you."—He would have continued his discourse, but Mr. Crustiew made a sign to me to interrupt him, which I did by directing the conversation to another subject; but at the same time I resolved to ask the reason from Mr. Crustiew, why he objected to our conversing in an open manner.

Our entertainer caused brandy and tea to be served, and proposed to his companions to receive us in their cabins and share their provisions with us, observing to them that we should not be able to build new cabins during the winter. The congress applauded this proposition, and to conciliate our union, we swore a mutual friendship; after which every one received a companion. My lot, in which I confess there was a slight management, gave me to Mr. Crustiew.

## CHAPTER V

Our places of habitation being thus settled, every one retired, and I seized the first opportunity of being alone with Mr. Crustiew, to enquire the reason why he had interrupted the discourse of Mr. Panow, at the same time that I assured him I could not persuade myself that any one amongst them could be so base as to betray his companions: it is very true, replied he, my dear friend, that you can have no reason to think so meanly of any of them, though it is very certain, that there are some among us who would rather pass the rest of their lives in this cursed country than expose themselves to the mercy of the waves. But the most humiliating circumstance is, that there are among us some wretches, who, in hopes of obtaining their liberty, by betraying our secrets, would certainly lose no time in communicating our projects to the governor; for, continued he, there exists a law, which is the only one in favour of exiles, to the effect, that every exile who shall have revealed to the governor any plot concerning his authority, or relating to the public peace, which may be carried on by other exiles, shall be immediately set at liberty. He ended his discourse by assuring me that his life and his utmost exertions were entirely at my service; that he would avail himself of the first occasion to declare me chief of the society, and that, in a word, my principles and views should in future be the rule by

which he would direct his own. We, therefore, referred the more ample consideration of our interests till another occasion, when we proposed to determine the manner of executing an attempt, either to set ourselves at liberty, or sacrifice our lives in the pursuit.

Such was the issue of the first day of my arrival, after which we retired to rest. I made many reflections on all that happened during the course of the day, and determined on the means of preserving the secret of whatever we might in future deliberate or conclude upon amongst ourselves.

I perceive that I cannot in future relate the continuation of my memoirs in the form of an history, and shall therefore proceed in the form of a journal.

On the 5th, I arose and examined the whole cabin, which appeared to be very well furnished; but what surprized me the most agreeably was, an alcove of the same kind as that in which I slept, which was filled with French, Russian, English, German, and Latin books, placed in order. I found Anson's Voyage lying on a table, and began to read it with pleasure, but had scarcely finished the first page before Mr. Crustiew entered and embraced me. Our first conversation turned on this famous voyager, and my friend informed me that for six years past he had deliberated in his own mind on the means of quitting Kamchatka, and making his way to the Marian islands. The account of the island of Tinian, as described in that publication, had struck the imagination of Mr. Crustiew so forcibly, that the island, in his opinion, was nothing less than paradise. From this turn of mind, I determined to acquaint him with the resolution of myself and my companions, at the same time proposing that he should join us. He joyfully accepted my proposition, and kneeling before me, immediately took an oath of fidelity and obedience. He assured me likewise, that by his incorporation into our society, he should reinforce it with twenty other

companions; but he requested my permission to speak to them concerning it. I was delighted with an acquisition of such considerable value, but confined myself to take his oath of constant friendship, at the same time that I begged him not to act precipitately, but to wait for the approbation of our society; the rules of which I was endeavouring to establish for the purpose of securing our mutual preservation and regulating our conduct.

After these preliminaries I informed my companions, and we established a committee of the following members:

Myself, chief,
Panow,
Baturin,
Stephanow,
Solmanow,
Wynbladth,
Crustiew,
Wasili, my old servant.

At the opening of our assembly I addressed the meeting as follows:

"A variety of events has forced us to this place, "where we find ourselves oppressed under one common "misfortune. We are all aware of its cruelty and "barbarity, and its duration threatens us with the most "dreadful consequences. The excess of our misfortune "ought, therefore, to lead us to seek our own safety, by "throwing off this abominable yoke of slavery, to which "injustice and despotism hath condemned us. The "equality of our unfortunate situation renders our con-"ditions equal: there can be no question therefore of "preference among us in consequence of the titles we "may have formerly possessed, whether by birth or "acquisition. At this moment we are equal by the "very nature of our situation; and from this point it "is that I will proceed to propose to you a constitution

" relative to ourselves, in order that we may, with per-
" fect safety, establish a plan of operation, the execution
" of which will lead us to liberty.

" From our own experience in the world we cannot
" but be convinced, that no society can exist without
" the choice of a person, to whom the supremacy shall
" be intrusted. The choice of such a person ought
" therefore to engage our first attention. He shall be
" our creature, but at the same time that we give him
" our confidence, it will be necessary that we pay him
" the most perfect submission. In order to proceed
" without delay to this nomination, I propose the most
" simple method; namely, that every one shall write
" the name of the person on whom his choice shall be
" fixed, and the plurality of names shall determine.
" When a chief shall be thus elected, let him swear to
" keep the following four articles:

" 1. That he shall employ his utmost abilities and
" every possible means to form a plan, which he shall
" carry into effect at the peril and risk of his life.
" This plan shall tend to set us at liberty as early as
" possible.

" 2. That he shall not give any distinguished prefer-
" ence to any person amongst us; but shall inform the
" committee of every thing which he may think of
" advantage relative to his operations.

" 3. That in case the chief shall be desirous of
" renouncing his plan, or shall remonstrate to that
" purpose to the committee, or even shall converse to
" that effect with any individual separately, he shall be
" punished, *ipso facto*, with death, and the committee
" shall have the right to execute this sentence in what-
" ever manner may to them appear the most expedient.

" 4. That after the chief shall have made his oath he
shall receive a separate oath from each of the indi-
viduals who form the society, and that the oath shall
in substance be as follows:

" 1. That each member of the society shall employ his " utmost exertions and abilities, at the peril of his life, " to co-operate in the execution of the plan which shall " be adopted for the obtaining of liberty.

" 2. That having acknowledged the authority of his " chief, he shall obey him with the most perfect sub- " mission; and that as he finds himself, by injustice " and despotism, discarded from all civil and political " society, he will, without any restriction, obey the " orders of the chief elect, acknowledging him as his " sovereign and master.

" 3. That having rendered himself, by virtue of his " oath, worthy of the confidence of the society without " any restriction, each individual shall engage to keep " the most profound secrecy concerning every thing " which shall have been treated or determined from " that day forwards; and in case he shall have betrayed " this engagement, he shall acknowledge himself, *ipso* " *facto*, culpable, and worthy to be punished with " death, to which he shall submit from the moment of " his apostacy from the present oath; submitting " himself likewise by the present act to be the instru- " ment of execution of every sentence of death which " shall be decreed in the committee against any other " of the society, whomsoever he may be."

" After taking this oath, let the chief, with all " members of the society, establish a fourth article, as " follows:

" 4. That if, in case of treachery, either the chief, or " any other person of the society, shall fall into the " hands of government, he shall keep the most pro- " found secrecy respecting their union; and the associa- " tion shall use the means, at the risk and peril of their " lives, to take that person out of the hands of govern- " ment, either by rescuing him by open force, or by " providing him with poison or arms to deliver himself " from oppression."

This speech was received with veneration, and I was convinced, from the countenance of my auditors, that they approved my propositions. In consequence thereof every one took paper, and wrote a name according to his choice. Upon opening the papers, seven bore my name, and my paper that of Crustiew, which determined them to nominate Mr. Crustiew my second. We then proceeded to take our oaths, and I received those of the other members of the society.

Such was the conclusion of my second day at Kamchatka. After having fixed the meeting of the committee for the 10th of the month, Mr. Crustiew declared that he had several friends to propose as members of our society, to which I acceded, and fixed the time of their reception on the 10th.

On the 6th we met, in order to proceed in a body to pay our compliments to the governor. He received us, and after having been informed that I spoke several languages, he appointed me master of languages to his son and his three daughters, in consideration of which he dispensed me from all public work, and ordered the same subsistence to be allowed me as to the soldiers of the garrison. After having acquainted me with this determination, he called his children, and exhorted them to be diligent, and learn whatever I might teach them.

After this ceremony we waited upon the chancellor, who admitted us in the same manner. We found him playing at chess with Kolossow, hettman of the Cossacks. He ordered us to wait till the game was finished. I approached the table and examined the state of the game. My particular attention surprized the chancellor, who enquired if I understood chess; I answered in the affirmative. Soon after finding his own game desperate, and, in his opinion, lost, he told me he would give me fifty roubles if I could win it. The hettman protested that he would not play with an exile, as it was contrary to the laws, but the chancellor

maintained that he might legally do it, as the laws prohibited only the communication with exiles; and at last the hettman, rather piqued at the chancellor's intimation that he was fearful of losing the party, consented that I should play the game out. He had the advantage of a castle, a knight, and two pawns. At the third move I uncovered my castle, which stood behind a bishop and opposite to the queen, at the same time that I checked the king with my bishop. The loss of the queen secured the game in my favour, so that I soon gave the check-mate.

At the end of the game I found that it had been played for five hundred roubles on a side, and I immediately received the fifty roubles. The hettman being vexed, was desirous of having his revenge, and the chancellor consented to find money for my stake. He dismissed my companions, after presenting them with two bottles of brandy, and detained me to play at chess. I won three successive games, which put two thousand roubles into the chancellor's pocket, of which, my part amounted to one hundred and fifty roubles. At dinner time I retired, and soon after, with great surprize, perceived the hettman close behind me. He called after me very civilly, and informed me that he had a project in his head, in which, if I would join, I should find it much to my advantage; but for my part I was apprehensive that his loss might make him my enemy, and therefore proposed to restore the hundred and fifty roubles which had been presented to me; at the same time making the best excuses I could for what had happened. But my fears were soon dissipated when he discovered his project; which was, that I should play against some rich merchants, who had won large sums of money of him, and that if I had the good fortune to win he was certain of gaining an immense sum, of which the fifth part should be paid me on the spot.

## CHAPTER V

The situation in which I found myself, and the want of money to carry my enterprize into execution, made me determine to accept his proposition, and to assure him of the fortune of his rivals in this play. As soon as I had given my consent, he forgot my situation as an exile, and pressed me to go to dinner with him. I was received by his family with great respect; for he presented me in the character of an illustrious, though unfortunate gentleman, to whom his family owed great obligations. At dinner we were surprized by several of the chief people of the town, but my entertainer, who, by his charge, was the third person in the government, knew so well how to manage the conversation, that he perfectly established that degree of consideration, which he was desirous I should possess. At my departure he caused me to be supplied with provisions, namely, butter, salt meat, rice, and brandy sufficient, at least, to entertain my company five days.

When I arrived at home I assembled my companions, and related to them every thing that had happened. At the sight of my provisions and the hundred and fifty roubles, they thought they beheld providence in person; their hopes were still more highly elevated, when I informed them of the plot in which I had engaged with the hettman, against the merchants. Our evening thus passed with great chearfulness, and many were the castles we built in the air. As soon as the company was gone, I employed myself in writing out copies in the Latin, French, and German languages, for my scholars; and afterwards, enlivened by hope, I retired to rest, and enjoyed the most refreshing sleep.

## CHAPTER VI

On the 7th, my late rising obliged me to hasten to the governor's, where I found the younger part of the family assembled in the hall. I gave them the copies, and caused them to spell the words. The youngest of three daughters, whose name was Aphanasia, who was sixteen years of age, proposed many questions concerning my thoughts in my present situation. Her questions convinced me that her father had given them some information concerning my birth and misfortunes. I therefore gave them an account of my adventures, at which my scholars appeared to be highly affected, but the youngest wept very much. She was a beautiful girl, and her sensibility created much emotion in my mind;—but, alas, I was an exile.

The governor afterwards came in and attended to my instructions. He appeared exceedingly well satisfied with my method, and informed me that he intended to present me with a Kamchatka female slave, a sledge, and two dogs. I thanked him for this favour, but observed, that as an exile I could not possess any property, and that I was resolved to endure my fate with patience. He persisted, however, in his resolution, and observed that the senate would not be displeased at his kindness for me, after having received an account of the essential service I had done the state, by preserving the vessel, with the lives and fortunes of the

subjects of the Empress. The goodness of his disposition affected me greatly, and I thanked him with the utmost sincerity; after which I took my leave. But he detained me a short time, and ordered a sledge to be harnessed, which he put into my hands, with a conductor, whom he ordered to obey me.

When I arrived with this new equipage, my companions cried out that miracles were revived; and more especially, when I informed them of all that the governor had said, they verily believed themselves delivered from the yoke of slavery under my protection. But Mr. Panow surprized the assembly by observing, that they had no such reason to rejoice, for the governor's benevolence would slacken my zeal, and that afterwards, at the first change of a governor, we should remain exposed to the barbarians. He was going on with his discourse, when I judged it proper to interrupt him by renewing my oath, with every assurance of my being devoted to the good of the society.

After dinner I received a visit from the hettman, who was accompanied by Messrs. Casarinow and Roscurakow, two principal merchants. After the first civilities they proposed to me to establish a school for languages, arithmetic, and geography; and to enable me to undertake this, they made an offer of putting together an entire house, newly built, at any place where I might choose to establish a public school. I accepted their offers, on condition that they should persuade the governor to send his children to this school: because, as I was obliged to repair every day to the governor's, I should not otherwise have it in my power to superintend the public school. We concluded our arrangement with the condition, that I should receive five roubles per month for each child; that they should pay me besides half a rouble for wood and lights; and lastly that they should contribute together

to furnish my house with moveables and a stock of provisions, together with a servant to dress my victuals.

The more I reflected on the favourable change of my situation, the more my hope increased that I should be able in safety to execute the plan I had formed for my deliverance. For the distressing image of a wife whom I loved, and who in my absence, in all probability, had given birth to an infant, presented itself constantly to my mind, and permitted me to receive no perfect satisfaction. Absorbed in these reflections, I paid little attention to the conversation between my companions and our guests; but the hettman roused me out of my reverie, by requesting me to come and dine with him and play a few games at chess. He informed me, that he had proposed this party to Mr. Casarinow, then present, who would take no denial, and that each game should be for three hundred roubles, of which he would stake on my side one hundred and twenty, and the chancellor the same sum, and that, if I won, the sixty roubles of each game would belong to me; but that, in case I lost, they would bear my loss. Mr. Casarinow consented to the engagement, on condition that fifty games should be played; and that he might be permitted to make an association, any one of whom should be at liberty to play against me, as in like manner it should be permitted either for the chancellor or the hettman to play in my stead. The hettman replied, that he would not stipulate but for himself: it was therefore determined to wait on the chancellor, to whom we accordingly went. This gentleman performed his part very dexterously, by making some difficulties at first, though at last he consented, and the articles were written down and signed, with the additional stipulation, that ready money should be paid down at the end of each game.

The agreement was ratified by an evening's enter-

tainment, at which fifty persons were present; and the governor himself, with his family, came in. On his arrival the music was sent for, and dances began. As for myself, I was a friendly spectator of the whole; and, being now upon terms of great familiarity with every one, I requested the chancellor to send a few bottles to my companions. He invited them all, appointing a chamber for their use, where they could see every thing that passed without communicating with the assembly, contrary to the laws. During the whole entertainment, my scholar Aphanasia never quitted me but to join in the dance, which she did very gracefully; her mother came up to us once, and whispered to me, I think your scholar will become your friend; have an eye over her: I am a kind mother.—She spoke to me in very good German; and as it was the first time I had conversed with her I felt some embarrassment, but soon recollecting myself, I assured her of my respect and inviolable attachment. The governor, observing me in conversation with the mother and the daughter, likewise came up to us, and asked the subject of our conversation; but Madame de Nilow prevented my answering, by saying, that she was enquiring whether I could not teach her daughter music. This mezzotermino delivered me from all apprehension, and a short time afterwards the governor and his lady retired. Miss Nilow returned to me, and informed me that her father had consented to the establishment of a public school, and that consequently she, with her sisters and brothers, should often have the pleasure of visiting her master. It is impossible to describe the amiable and graceful manner of this charming girl. Two hours after midnight I attended my scholar, with her sisters, to the governor's house, and afterwards returned home.

## CHAPTER VII

On the 8th my friend Crustiew came to me at day-break, to enquire what situation I had chosen for the new edifice, and on going out of my hut I found almost all the pieces of wood for the building ready. As soon as I had marked out the situation the workmen began to put them together. After breakfast I repaired to the governor's house to give the usual lessons to my scholars, whom I found ready, with the alphabet in their hands. When they had said their spelling lessons, they requested me to write some German and French words in the Russian characters. It fortunately happened that I was provided with a grammar of the Russian, German and French languages, which I had found among the books of my friend. I put this into their hands, with some instructions for the use of it. As soon as the lessons were ended, I was asked a thousand questions concerning my country, its manners, customs, &c.

When I was preparing to depart, the governor's lady arrived, and after dismissing her children, made me sit down beside her. She informed me, that she was the daughter of a Swedish colonel, exiled into Siberia; that her mother had changed her religion, and that she had married Mr. Nilow, at that time lieutenant-colonel, a worthy man, but greatly addicted to drinking, the excess of which rendered him brutal and insupportable;

that she enjoyed no pleasure excepting that of seeing her family grow up around her, though at the present instant, after having suffered the mortification of seeing her two eldest daughters married to two officers who were addicted to gluttony and drinking in the most disgusting excess, she could not but lament the fate of the youngest, who was intended by her father to be married to a certain kuzma, one of the most disagreeable persons in the universe. She therefore intreated me to endeavour to gain the confidence of the governor, and to use my utmost exertions to change this resolution. My reply to this good mother was, that I would do my best, and that at all times she should find me obedient to her commands. Soon after I took my leave, and returned home, where I found an invitation from Mr. Hettman to form a party at chess.

In the mean time we dined, and after dinner Mr. Crustiew presented to me the candidates for reception into our society. About four o'clock a woman came to take my measure for shirts and clothes, according to the custom of this country, where the women perform the taylor's business. At seven o'clock I waited on the chancellor, where I found five merchants. We played five games at chess, four of which I won, and after receiving one hundred and eighty roubles, I took my leave.

On the 9th a merchant, named Csulosnikow, hearing that I possessed some money, proposed to me to play a couple of games with him, but declared that he would not play for less than two hundred roubles a game. I accepted his proposal, only deferring it till afternoon, because I was obliged to attend my scholars at the governor's house. When I entered the hall I was surprized to find Miss Aphanasia absent, and still more to hear that she was ill in bed, but being desirous of taking her lesson, she had asked leave for me to come to her, which her mother had granted. I was accordingly introduced into her chamber, where this amiable

girl disclosed the sentiments of her heart with such openness and simplicity, that the Russian language at that moment appeared to me the most musical in the universe. Our conversation was interrupted by the appearance of Madame Nilow. I therefore took my leave, and on my arrival at home I found Mr. Csulosnikow, who lost three games at chess. The rest of the day was employed in settling the order for the reception of the candidates to be presented by Mr. Crustiew. We agreed that the council of eight should alone be entrusted with the secrets, and that such other persons as might in future be admitted should be informed only of such particulars as the council might judge necessary to communicate to them to secure their confidence. At this meeting, therefore, the form of the oath was drawn up, and we employed the rest of the evening in preparing an entertainment.

On the 10th, at day-break, Mr. Crustiew went in search of his candidates, and at nine in the morning, returned with them. Their names were as follow:

Demetrius Kuzneczow, a free Russian merchant.
Aphanasi Kumin, Captain of the Cossacks, free.
Andrew Gurcinin, Chamberlain of the Empress Elizabeth, an exile.
John Sibaew, Captain of the Hunters, free.
Alexis Protopop, Archdeacon of the Church, free.
Levonti Popow, Captain of the Hunters, free.
John Csurin, brother to the captain of a merchant ship, free.
Magnus Meder, of the Admiralty, exiled twenty years.
John Wilkow, a free hunter.
Cassimir Bielski, a Polish starost, exiled fifteen years before.
Gregory Lobczow, Colonel of Infantry, an exile.
Heraclius Prince Zadskoy, exiled eighteen years before.

Julian Brandorp, a Swede, exiled six years before.
Nicholas Srebernikow, Captain of a regiment of Guards, an exile.
Andrew Biatzinin, an exile.

At eleven in the morning the candidates were introduced to the committee, and the oaths and engagements were read to them. They immediately took the oath, and signed their engagements; but in order to confirm their sanction we determined that all those who were of the Russian religion should go to confession, and take the sacrament to corroborate their oaths. In consequence of this order Mr. Crustiew attended them to the church, where their confessions were received, and the sacrament was administered to them by the Protopop. After their return we celebrated our little feast, and the governor with his family, the chancellor, and the hettman, with several other principal persons of the town, came to us in the evening, and honoured our assembly with a visit, which fixed the epoch of the independence of the exiles: For the governor, being extremely drunk, swore, that he acknowledged me as chief of the exiles, and commanded the chancellor to register an act in the chancery, to authenticate this nomination; at the same time promising to write a representation in my favour to government, in order that I might be employed in the service of the state: The chancellor and the hettman supported the intentions of the governor, and had the satisfaction to win near seven thousand roubles from the merchants, at chess, who by this means paid the charges of our entertainment.

On the 11th we determined to go in chace of the bear, and obtained permission from the governor of four days absence. On this day I received a considerable present in linen and some pieces of plate from Mr. Nilow. On the 12th we departed, to the number of sixteen, well armed, with eight sledges, and went down

the river which was frozen. At the distance of twenty-eight verstes we stopped at the dwelling of the tajou or chief of Csekawka: he gave us an account of the several visits he had received from the bears in his neighbourhood, and entertained us and our dogs with a dinner; after which he conducted us to a brook which fell into the river of Kamchatka. But the instant that he perceived three bears at play on the banks of this rivulet, he earnestly entreated us to retire, assuring us that these creatures would be the death of us. After delivering this advice, he decamped, and we approached our enemies 'till within the distance of musquet shot, when we discharged our fire-arms, and wounded them. Enraged with their wounds, they came forward to attack us with the utmost fury. It was a fortunate circumstance that my companions were accustomed to this chace. They met the bears, and, after a long combat, slew the whole three; for none of them chose to quit the field of battle.

The following circumstances are proper to be taken notice of respecting this manner of hunting. At sight of a bear one of the hunters advances to begin the attack, which he does by presenting his left arm to the animal, having previously secured himself by thick pieces of wood, fastened lengthways upon the arm, in order that the bear may not break it at the first gripe. The moment the animal seizes the arm the hunter strikes him with a lance within the left shoulder. After this stroke the other hunters continually run their lances into the body of the animal, who often breaks the weapons, and, if the first stroke be not effectual, throws down his opponent and strangles, or at least maims him.

After having slain these three bears we laid them on our sledges and returned towards Csekawka. At the half distance we met the tajou with twenty natives of Kamchatka, armed with lances and bows. They acquainted us that they came to assist us; but when

they saw the dead bears they sung our praise, and conducted us back in triumph. The first care of the Kamchatka men was to skin the bears, for which they gave us twenty-six martins skins, and eight foxes skins for the flesh. This bargain was very agreeable to us, and we resolved to sally forth by moon-light to make another prize. We succeeded very well in this attempt likewise, for we slew five others, but Sibaew was wounded.

Among these bears there was one of prodigious size, and as white as snow. We set apart his skin as a present for the governor; and proposed to apply the four others to our own use as mattrasses. We therefore laid them on our sledges, and returned towards our habitations, where we skinned them, and salted the flesh; after which we carried our present to the governor, who was highly pleased with it.

## CHAPTER VIII

On the 14th, the school-room being ready, I received my scholars, and made choice of Mess. Crustiew and Panow as my assistants. At four in the afternoon the governor's children appeared. The number of my scholars amounted to twenty-three, among which were three merchants, who came to learn arithmetic.

On the 16th Sibaew requested me to call a meeting, in order to communicate a discovery relative to our enterprize. I appointed that very night at eleven o'clock. When the committee was assembled, I demanded of him the communication he had to make, which was as follows.

In the course of the preceding month of August, Csulosnikow sailed from Ochoczk with a vessel of one hundred and fifty tons, armed, and bound to the Aleuthes islands, to catch beavers. His crew consisted of twenty-eight hunters, who had never been at sea before, and these being overtaken by a violent tempest, had run the vessel ashore. Csulosnikow in this juncture had forced the people to work without intermission to get the vessel off the ground; and upon their refusal to persevere, had obtained military assistance from the governor to compel them. In consequence of which treatment they had unanimously determined, first to get the vessel off, and afterwards to make their escape with her out of slavery. Mr. Sibaew having been consulted

by them on this affair, took advantage of their disposition to insinuate that they had no chance of succeeding in their attempt unless they could engage me to take the command, which they immediately resolved to do, and entreated him to inform me of their determination. He therefore thought it incumbent on him to acquaint the committee, that they might determine what was properest to be done in these circumstances, which in his own opinion he thought very advantageous to our interests; as by increasing our number we might put ourselves in a situation to employ open force in seizing a vessel, and making our escape with our arms in our hands, in case we could not succeed by stratagem.

This proposition appeared very interesting to us. The opinion of every person present was therefore taken, and the society was at last induced to adopt mine, which was as follows:

That Sibaew should return for answer to them, that I was greatly affected with the sufferings they endured, but that having already been betrayed, once before, in my endeavours to assist the unfortunate, I could not trust to their proposals. For it would be sufficient if out of twenty-eight there should be one apostate who might betray me; and as the enterprize was of the nature of a revolt, they would be punished by being condemned for life to the mines. I recommended that no other answer should be made them on my part but this; but I engaged Sibaew to encourage them in their disposition to quit Kamchatka, and persuade them to use every means of gaining my confidence, while I reserved to myself the conduct and management of their plot when it should be brought near to an issue.

On the 17th, in the morning, Sibaew arrived with two of the principal persons of the crew of Mr. Csulosnikow, the one named Lapin, who was master, and the other Parencsin, who was carpenter. They both threw themselves at my feet as soon as they entered, and conjured

me not to abandon them in their enterprize. They observed, that their resolution ought to be agreeable to me, as I should thereby secure my liberty; and they offered to engage themselves by oath to be faithful and obedient to me in all my commands, and to follow me to the end of the world. I continued to urge difficulties until they had assured me that they would engage themselves by the most sacred oath, and take the holy communion to corroborate every engagement into which I might think proper to require them to enter. This resolution determined me to give them some hopes that I would accept the charge, provided they engaged their companions to follow my fortunes under the same oath. For which purpose I told them, that as soon as they were all agreed, they might come to me, in order to execute their oath of union.

After their departure, I assembled my companions, and communicated to them the agreement I had made with the chiefs of Csulosnikow's people. The steps I had taken were approved, and the company finding themselves reinforced by twenty-eight strong, robust and determined men, no longer doubted of success. We agreed from that day forward to busy ourselves in making cartridges, and preparing our arms. Each of us was directed to provide a musquet, a pair of pistols, a sabre, a lance, and sixty cartridges.

On the 18th I passed the day with the Chancellor in playing at chess, and I won seven games. On my return I found Mr. Norin, lieutenant of the garrison, who asked me to lend him five hundred roubles, which he wanted to fit himself out, as he was nominated commander at Nisniostrogg. I promised to comply with his request, on condition that he gave me his word of honour to behave with humanity towards the unfortunate exiles dwelling within the limits of his jurisdiction. He accompanied me home, where I put the five hundred roubles into his hand, and received

in return his protestations of friendship and gratitude. My companions were much concerned at my liberality; but when I assured them that I had near five thousand roubles in my box, they found themselves more at ease in that respect.

On the 19th the chancellor desired me to compose a reduced chart of the Kurilles and Aleuthes islands, together with the coasts of Kamchatka, and Ochoczk; and, in order that I might obtain the necessary information, he gave me permission to take out of the archives whatever pieces I might find relative to the subject. As this business tended to divert my wearisome situation, and, at the same time, to supply me with the knowledge which was requisite to the execution of my project, I undertook it very willingly; and on that very day I received out of the Chancery several journals and relations of sea voyages, made either by the officers in the Imperial Russian service, or by individuals. At the first perusal, however, I was convinced that I could advance nothing with certainty, except such articles as I found in the journals of Spanberg, Bering and Tsirikow.

On the 20th Madame de Nilow pressed me much to teach her daughter music. Unfortunately, however, my whole knowledge of this art consisted in playing the harp, an instrument which it would have been a miracle to have found in Kamchatka. Nevertheless, to please this lady, I promised to make one; though I had never handled any cabinet-makers tools. On my return home I consulted with my friends, concerning the accomplishment of my promise; and, after I had made a model, Mr. Panow undertook to assist me in the construction of the instrument; Mr. Crustiew engaged to make the strings with the entrails of dogs and rein deer, and Mr. Stephanow promised to make all the iron screws.

On the 21st, Mr. Csulosnikow, the merchant, came to me, and reproached me with having excited his crew to

mutiny, and threatened that, if I did not point out the ringleaders to him, he would directly go and complain to the governor, and demand an order for my imprisonment. The direct and assured manner in which this man made his attack, led me to fear some treachery on the part of his people; but, as it was necessary to avoid every appearance of confusion, I replied, that he must be out of his senses to accuse me with so stupid an undertaking. I admitted that his people had applied to me for an engagement to build my house, and that I had made a bargain with them, which, however, I would willingly cancel, if the governor judged it inconvenient. I assured him that I entered into this explanation, not with a view to justify myself to him, whom I despised too much to think of making any reply to his accusations; but that I did it to make him blush at his want of humanity. I moreover assured him, that I should lose no time in waiting on the governor, and making him acquainted with the execrable treatment with which he pursued his people, who, though unable to subsist without working, were deprived even of that resource, as far as his power could go; and that, as to myself, I should soon find an opportunity to punish him for his insolence, in having dared to attribute such proceedings to me.

During our conversation, several of my companions came up; and when informed of the subject of our discourse, they attributed his proceeding to a desire of avenging himself for the loss of a sum of money against me at chess. The contest soon became warm, and terminated in a shower of blows, which fell to his share.

To prevent the bad consequences of this adventure, I immediately waited upon the governor and informed him of the accusation of Csulosnikow, not forgetting to mention the insolence of his behaviour. The governor, irritated by the representations of his lady and the rest of his family, sent a serjeant in search of Csulosnikow, and the moment he appeared, without suffering him to

speak, he declared to him, that if he ever insulted me in future, he would send him to prison, and prosecute him for having lost the vessel entrusted to his care; and that since he had information that the vessel could not be got off, he would discharge his crew from their contract, and give them full liberty to enter on board of any other vessel. The governor accordingly sent his officer to the chancellor, in order that his commands might be carried into execution; and poor Csulosnikow found himself obliged to submit without speaking a word.

I thanked the governor, and returned homewards, but had scarcely proceeded one-third of the way before I was attacked by Csulosnikow and his cousin, with two stout bludgeons and drawn knives. I had no other arms than a stick, and was at a distance from every place of assistance. However I set myself in a state of defence with my back against a store house, and in this situation I received many strokes on the arm. One of my blows was so lucky as to fall on the head of Csulosnikow's companion, and extended him upon the earth; upon which, having only one to deal with, I attacked my man with fury, broke my staff, and then flew upon him with my fists. At the first onset I had the good fortune to strike him such a violent blow that he vomited blood, and begged his life, which I granted at the same time that I reproached him with his treachery. I promised, however, not to speak of this adventure to the governor.

After I had left him and was proceeding on my way, I met Sibaew, who seeing me all bloody with several contusions on my head, enquired what had happened, and upon being informed, he ran to the governor's house to carry the news. The governor immediately sent a detachment to seize Csulosnikow and his cousin, the latter of whom died that afternoon, by the fracture of his skull. Csulosnikow was condemned to six months public labour, and his whole property confiscated to

the use of the state and the church. For my pa
was with great difficulty that I reached home, and
withstanding every care, I was obliged to keep m
ten days, during which time I received continual
from the chiefs of the country, and especially the fa
of the governor, which appeared to be highly inter
in my welfare.

## CHAPTER IX

On the 1st of January, 1771, we paid our respects to the governor and other principal persons, and afterwards assembled, in order to make a kind of entertainment. We had received from several merchants, presents of tea and sugar, with which we regaled ourselves. But this pleasure cost us dear; for in a quarter of an hour after we were seized with violent cholics and vomiting. Mr. Panow was the first who assured us that we were poisoned, for he affirmed that he had observed many of the pieces of sugar tasted salt. In consequence of this supposition, each of us drank a large quantity of whale oil. It is impossible to describe our sufferings; some were affected more than others, and as to myself, who had only taken one cup of tea, I found, after I had taken the oil, that my pains disappeared with only a trembling in all my limbs. But my utmost exertions were required to attend my other companions, consisting of fourteen persons, many of whom vomited blood.

During this crisis, several of our companions came to see us, who, when they found what had happened, made haste to bring a quantity of the rein deer's milk, which at last mitigated our pains, and caused them to go off with a trembling of the limbs, excepting Mr. Csurin, who died in the night, and Mr. Panow, who continued scarcely alive. As soon as we had recovered our forces and began to reflect upon this event, we examined the

sugar. I gave a piece to a cat, and another piece to a dog, wrapped up in part of a fish. Both these animals were strongly convulsed, and burst in the space of half an hour. This experiment convinced us that Mr. Casarinow, a merchant, had poisoned the sugar; but as it was of importance to search this affair to the bottom, we determined to keep the secret, for which reason we caused the Protopop to attend the burial of Mr. Csurin; and Mr. Panow, finding himself better, was conveyed to his hut.

On the 2d, about noon, I waited on the governor, with the intention of giving him an account of our accident; and, as a proof, I carried with me the sugar loaf. The governor was not inclined to give credit to my declaration, for which reason I offered to convince him by sending for Mr. Casarinow, and proposing to him to drink tea, at the same time that notice might be incidentally taken, that I had presented the governor with a loaf of sugar. For I observed that the behaviour of Casarinow on this occasion, could not fail, either to clear up his innocence, or indicate his guilt. Madame Nilow approved my proposal, and the governor consented to follow my advice, on condition that I should be a witness to what might happen from a neighbouring chamber.

The governor accordingly sent for the chancellor, the hettman, and Casarinow, with two other merchants. The moment I saw them arrive, I retired into the next room, where I could hear every thing that passed. The chancellor and the hettman arrived first, and were informed of the business for which they had been requested to come. They concluded that Casarinow had executed this act of revenge against me on account of his having lost a large sum of money at chess, and declared that they did not doubt the truth of my relation. They at the same time observed, that if the fact should be established against Casarinow, it would

be absolutely necessary to punish him with the utmost rigour of the law, by condemning him to labour in the mines, after confiscation of his whole fortune.

Casarinow at last arrived with the two other merchants: the governor received them politely, and entered into discourse concerning the fitting out of some shipping for the islands Aleuthes, to catch beavers. In the midst of their dialogue the governor proposed tea, which was accepted by the whole company, and he continued his discourse with Casarinow, by asking if he was not in the habit of taking tea several times in the course of the day, to which he answered in the affirmative. In the mean time the table was set out, and the governor, looking at the sugar-loaf upon the table, expressed his surprize at the generosity of the exiles who arrived last, and observed that he had received as a new-year's gift from me, two sugar loaves, part of which he had now the pleasure of offering to the company. At these words Casarinow turned pale, and upon the governor's enquiry whether he was ill, he replied he was, and begged leave to retire. The chancellor replied, that his illness would go off after a couple of dishes of tea. He continued, however, to make his excuses, but at last the cup of tea being poured out was presented to him, and the governor insisted on his drinking it. At this crisis the unhappy wretch no longer doubted but that he was discovered, and, throwing himself at the feet of the governor, declared, that he had poisoned the sugar, with the intention of delivering society from such a monster as myself. He assured the governor that he would himself be convinced of this after hearing the deposition of a person of the name of Piatsinin, who had discovered to him a plot, which I had formed, to arm all the exiles, and to seize vessels in order to escape from Kamchatka. The governor was too much enraged at the attempt of Casarinow to pay any attention to his words; but committed him

to prison, giving orders to the chancellor to proceed to the confiscation of his property, and to register the sentence against him from his own confession, of an attempt to poison.

After having seen this wretched man dragged to jail, and the governor's dinner time being near, I retired. Immediately on my arrival I assembled the council, and afterwards all those who had entered into the oath of confederacy. I declared to them the treason of Piatsinin, who was then present, and the meeting sentenced him to die, but granted him three hours to prepare himself for death: the Protopop attended him, and in the evening he was led out and put to death during the night, by shooting him through the head.

In consequence of the deposition of Casarinow, the chancellor caused a Cossack, of the name of Piatsinin, to come before him, and questioned him concerning the fact. This poor wretch was at a loss what to answer, but absolutely denied ever having spoken to Casarinow, and the chancellor did not give himself the trouble to confront them, but contented himself with inserting in the sentence a declaration of falsehood against the deposition of Casarinow.

## CHAPTER X

On the 3d we were informed of all that had happened at the governor's as well as at the chancery, and it was with the greatest satisfaction that we reflected on our narrow escape from the consequences of treachery and poison. Several of us, however, were afflicted with severe fits of illness afterwards. On this day my musical instrument being finished, and the strings mounted, I carried it to Madame Nilow, and played a few airs upon it before her, and though the sound of the instrument was far from being lively, the melody was thought inchanting by the governor and all his family. From that day forward their youngest daughter Aphanasia was inseparable from her instrument.

On the 4th Mr. Stephanow informed us, that he had discovered that Bocsarow, Ismailow, and Lapin, three young persons apprenticed to the sea, had resolved, together with five or six hunters, to seize a vessel, and escape to the Aleuthes islands, to establish themselves there. He observed, that since the proposal first came from them he could depend on their fidelity; but as the treachery of Piatsinin had made a strong impression on the minds of my companions, I contented myself with proposing that Mr. Stephanow should form a connection with them, and encourage them in their resolution till we should have decided respecting their admission; but that we should postpone our decision to the time of the execution of our project. My opinion was agreed to,

and Mr. Stephanow was entrusted with the management of this affair.

On the 5th a committee was held, to consult on the means of carrying our project into execution. It was here determined that, in order to prevent all suspicion in future, the greater part of our companions should quit the town of Bolsha, and settle at Nisney-ostrog during the winter, under pretence of following the chace: But that in the course of the month of March, or at farthest by the 15th of April, they should rejoin me, in order that as the harbour began at that time to be cleared of ice, and the shipping would be fitting out, we should embrace the earliest opportunity of seizing the first vessel which should be ready, in which we would embark, and leave Kamchatka. In consequence of this resolution it was determined that Messrs. Crustiew and Stephanow should undertake to make sure of part of the crew of the first vessel which might be fitting out, with a view to facilitate the execution of our project; while I should attach myself to the governor, the chancellor, and the hettman, for the purpose of frustrating the effect of the insinuations of the merchants, who, from the treachery of Piatsinin, and several other circumstances, had been confirmed in their suspicions. On the same day I requested the governor's permission of absence for my companions, that they might hunt near Nisney Novogrod, which I obtained. On the 6th they departed, after I had given them two hundred roubles to facilitate their establishment, together with a letter of recommendation for Mr. Norin, commanding officer at Nisney-ostrog.

On the 7th the governor proposed to me to accompany him on a journey he intended to make in the course of the month, together with his family. I complied with his orders, and promised to be ready, but the chancellor and the hettman, who came in soon after, reproached me for abandoning their parties. The

governor, however, assured them that he should not be absent longer than seven or eight days; in consequence of which they determined to make the same journey, on condition that we took a chess board with us. The governor was curious to know the sum they had won at that game since I had borne a part; and, upon making a calculation, it appeared that it amounted to forty-two thousand roubles, in money and furs. The chancellor, to shew his attachment to the governor, asserted, that he had agreed with me to set aside one-tenth part of the profits as a present to the governor's family, which he called me, as well as the hettman, to witness. The governor was highly pleased with this declaration, and immediately caused his daughters to be called, and communicated to them the news of their good fortune; observing, that they were indebted to me, in the first place, for this advantage, and next, to the friendship of the chancellor and the hettman. I perceived that Mr. Hettman was offended at the step the chancellor had taken, for which reason I called him aside, and represented to him that this act of generosity, as well as all the good consequences which might arise from it, would be shared by him, as well as us; and that there still remained a vast field for us to extend our advantages. This assurance set his covetous heart somewhat more at ease.

The governor's family expressed their acknowledgments to us; but Miss Aphanasia added, that she hoped, from the goodness of Mr. Chancellor and Mr. Hettman, that they would interest themselves in my favour, and obtain the abolition of the sentence of my exile, and the necessary grace, in order that I might be employed in some charge under government, that her sincere desire of seeing me happy, and of partaking in my happiness, might be accomplished. At these words the governor flew into a rage, and loaded me with invectives, but the chancellor and hettman remonstrated strongly against the injustice of blaming me for the sentiments

of his daughter. They observed it was not impossible but that I might in future possess a charge under government, and in that case the governor could not do better to insure the happiness of his family. Their arguments at length had some effect on the governor, who became calm, and addressed them in these words: Gentlemen, you are witness to the declaration just now made by my daughter, of which I should be much ashamed; but, since you find it excusable, I pardon her, and undertake to employ my credit in mitigating the sentence of exile against Benyowsky. I therefore request that you will sign an act which I shall propose to you, which, according to the laws of the Czar Peter, discharges every exile from his sentence. This law enacts, that every exile who shall have discovered a plot formed against government, or the chiefs, shall be discharged from the rigour of his sentence. The exile before you has a right to this absolution; for he has revealed to us the attempt of Casarinow to poison us. Without his declaration neither you nor myself would now have been alive. You cannot therefore dispense with signing this act of absolution, which we will submit to the senate, with our letters of recommendation, for the sake of the form only: For the ordinances of the Emperor do not prescribe this to be done, but are positive in enacting, that every governor or voivode, president of a college, or chancellor, with the consent of his counsellors, shall be authorized to pronounce this absolution.

This speech of the governor was received like an oracle, and the chancellor invited the governor immediately to call a meeting the following day, to carry his resolution into effect. The hettman made haste to engage Madame Nilow to join them, in order to confirm the governor in this step, who beholding his family at his feet, and the chancellor and the hettman urging every entreaty, consented at last, and complimented me with my liberty.

## CHAPTER XI

This business was not conducted with secrecy. The governor's family divulged the adventure confusedly, and the whole town was informed of my approaching absolution before I left the governor's house; which I did, after having received orders to appear the following day at the chancery at eleven in the morning. In my way I met many persons who loaded me with compliments, and when I arrived at home, I found Messrs. Panow, Stephanow, Baturin, and Crustiew, who accosted me with some confusion, and informed me that I must appear before the general meeting. I enquired what pressing affair demanded my presence, and observed that I had very agreeable news to communicate to them; but great was my astonishment at the answer of Panow, who informed me that this news would cost me my life, to which he added, that I was a traitor, and that nothing more could be said on an affair which was of sufficient importance to be decided according to the constitution I had myself established.

Surprized at this discourse, I had no time to consider what motives could lead them to act in this manner. It was in vain that I solicited my best friend, Crustiew, to give me some intimation of the business; for he refused, by observing that he was forbidden to speak to me, and that it was necessary I should appear before the assembly. I then entered, and the first objects

which presented themselves to my sight were two of my associates, armed with sabres, at the door, and a goblet on the table filled with poison. These preparations led me to suppose that I was charged with treachery, and that the proceedings of the governor in my favour had induced my companions to believe that I had accused and betrayed them. On this supposition I demanded leave to speak, and immediately related to them every thing which had passed at the governor's house, together with the decision of the governor. After having ended my discourse, I demanded judgment. Consternation and joy was on every countenance. Mr. Panow advanced towards me the first, and, throwing himself at my feet, entreated my pardon, affirming that he was the author of all that I saw. He informed me, that as he could not believe my connection with the chiefs of the government was simply the effect of accident, he had long suspected me of treachery, and had not ceased to follow my steps; and that he had, on that very morning, followed me, and was convinced of my duplicity, when he heard that, by virtue of the ordinance of the Czar Peter, I was declared to be at liberty: a conviction which inspired him with the resolution of assassinating me; though he had deferred the execution of his purpose, merely with the intention of informing his companions of their danger. That in consequence of his declaration, they had determined to put me to death; but that the preservation of my life was owing to the resolution of Mr. Crustiew, who persuaded the meeting to hear me before they proceeded to the commission of a crime, as he would answer for me at the expence of his life; And as the assurance of Mr. Crustiew was now found to be true, he intreated my pardon for his precipitate haste. I embraced this worthy associate, and thanked him for his care, at the same time begging that he would, in future, entertain a better opinion of me.

## CHAPTER XI

The fears of the association being thus dissipated, they indulged themselves in the pleasing reflections, how much my liberation would tend to insure the execution of our project. After the rising of the assembly, I consulted with Messrs. Crustiew and Protopop about my apprehensions respecting the governor's daughter and her mother, who seeing me in a state of liberty, pressed me to marry her, which was out of my power, because I was already married, and resolved to prosecute our voyage. The first represented to me, that my marriage being by compulsion, would be unlawful, and that I might clear myself of it on my return into Europe. The second proposed to me to repeat the form of marriage, without entering into any engagement; to which effect he promised to give me a certificate. They both endeavoured to convince me that I needed not hesitate to comply with the solicitations of the governor's family, for the purpose of supporting the common interest. But I resolved to do nothing which might injure my reputation. I therefore declared that I would put off this affair as long as I could, in order to gain time, and that I did not despair of obtaining their consent to defer the marriage till the month of May; at which period, it would be in our power to settle the business in another manner. I confess that in my own mind I felt the utmost regret and uneasiness, to be the instrument of distress to an amiable girl whom I tenderly loved; but the hope that she might, at some future period, be happier in a marriage more suitable to her situation, tended in some measure to render my reflections less afflicting.

I employed the rest of the day in preparations to make a decent appearance at the chancery, and in the evening I waited upon the chancellor and the hettman to thank them for their favours. Both these gentlemen loaded me with compliments; the chancellor obliged me to accept a traineau, very elegantly constructed of

whalebone and gilt, which was drawn by four white dogs, and accompanied by a slave to direct them; and the hettman presented me with a parca, or pelisse of beaver's skin, edged with the skin of the black fox, together with a bonnet of blue velvet bordered with sables.

On the 8th, all the exiles assembled at my house. At ten o'clock the secretary of the chancery, Mr. Szudeikin, came to invite me to the chancery. I accordingly ordered my sledge to be harnessed, and waited upon the chancellor, attended by my companions, who remained at the gate. The secretary introduced me into the council chamber, where I found the governor sitting as president, with eighteen other principal gentlemen, including the chancellor and the hettman. The governor made a very long speech, in order to render me truly sensible of my good fortune, in having fallen into the hands of just and enlightened men. He enlarged much on the mildness of the Russian government, and the excellence of its laws, and concluded his discourse by praising the Empress, whose virtues he extolled to the skies. After his sermon, he ordered the chancellor to read the act of my absolution which was word for word as follows:

"Actuated by the inviolable duty of justice, after "having materially examined the behaviour of Augustus "Samueloviez, an exile to this place, by order of the "governing senate, and (pursuant to) the will of her "Imperial Highness, Catharine, Empress and Auto-"cratrix of all the Russias, I do declare him absolved "from the proscription pronounced in the sentence "against him, and I do command his remission, con-"formably to the intention of the legislature, explained "in the fifth section of the instructions concerning the "laws against proscribed and exiled persons; and in "order that the causes which have determined me to "this proceeding may be perpetuated in justice, I

" command that the *species facti* be printed beneath " the present act, as it has been presented unto me by " the chancellor.

" May it please his excellency the governor to consider " the declaration of Augustus Samueloviez, who dis- " covered the attempt to poison, made by Casarinow, " and intended to cause the death of the governor, with " the principals of the regency, doubtless to carry into " execution a design of seizing the government of this " province, and depriving the empire of the dominion " thereof. That the said Augustus Samueloviez, in " order to prove the criminal intention, hazarded his " own life, with the lives of several of his companions, " by making a trial of the force of the poison on his " own person; and that in this manner, at the peril of " his life and the lives of his friends, he clearly proved " the guilt of the above-named: which evidence was " lastly confirmed by Casarinow himself, who confessed " his crime. May it therefore please his excellency the " governor, conformably to the ordinances of the late " Czar Peter, to pronounce the sentence of absolution " from exile, in favour of the said Augustus Samueloviez.

Signed, NOVOZILOW, Chancellor,
SZUDEIKIN, Secretary."

The present order, containing the act of absolution, after being read in council, was exhibited and published conformably to the laws. When the reading was finished, the governor caused me to approach the table, presented me a looking glass, and commanded me to kiss it. This ceremony being finished, he embraced me himself, as did likewise all the other members present at the council; immediately after which, six of the guards entered with a drum, and went out with the secretary in order to publish my absolution through the town. During the time they were executing their commission, I requested the governor's leave to make a proposal, and being permitted to speak, I addressed

the council. I assured them that after having rendered a service of this nature to the state, I was determined to employ my whole life in endeavouring to promote the interests of that part of the nation which had interested itself so highly in my welfare; and that in consequence of this disposition, I proposed to establish the cultivation of grain on the southern point of land, and to clear a quantity of pasture ground for the support of cattle, sufficient to maintain the inhabitants of Kamchatka. In order to carry this project into execution, I only requested permission to establish myself with the other exiles in that country, with forty natives as labourers.

The chancellor spoke in favour of my proposal, and the governor consented to report it for discussion at the following meeting. At the breaking up of the council, I was invited to dinner; but before I departed I joined my companions, and explained to them the reason of my proposal, which they found advantageous to the purpose of our union.

Numberless were the compliments I received at dinner. The family of the governor in particular expressed their satisfaction, more especially Miss Aphanasia, who was uncommonly attentive to her dress that day. Twenty-two principal gentlemen of the town were present at this dinner; and one of them, named Casimir, took the lead at the desert, by observing that the praise of good actions ought not to be confined to words, but that as the governor had satisfied the claim of justice, it was the duty of society to bestow the reward of merit; he therefore proposed that the citizens should unite to contribute a fund for my establishment.

The governor replied to this proposition, that he seriously intended to make my fortune; and that as he designed to give me his daughter in marriage, it was his business to take care of my establishment. But the chancellor contradicted this resolution, by declaring

that as the governor had a numerous family, prudence required that he should not impair his own private fortune, and consequently, that he might permit those to act who were desirous of testifying their gratitude to me. The hettman seconded the chancellor, and the governor at last consented that Casimir should pursue his plan, and the governor declared that he would not postpone the marriage between myself and his daughter, longer than till he received orders from the governor general of Irkuczk, from whom he had requested the creation of the office of lieutenant-general of the police in my favour.

The company applauded this resolution, and the evening passed very agreeably to every one but myself. No words can describe the confusion of my mind, when I reflected that I was forced to deceive a charming and innocent girl. I could not conceal my consternation from the penetrating eye of Madame Nilow; and it was with the utmost embarrassment that I contrived to elude her enquiries, by pretending that my apparent affliction was occasioned by the mortification of finding myself separated from the company of the other exiles, for whose friendship I had a very great value. The avowal of so natural a sentiment satisfied her, and she endeavoured to remove these reflections, by promising that she would contrive means to mitigate their hardships; but at the same time she desired me to fix my future residence in the governor's house, where apartments were provided for me in order that I might be at hand to assist in the public business.

This proposal greatly embarrassed me: but as I had a thousand reasons for refusing this mark of goodness, I urged every argument I could think of to persuade her to suffer me to reside as usual without the town and fortress, to which she at last consented.

## CHAPTER XII

Upon my return home I found my friends assembled. Many of them shed tears of joy, and declared that, since my good fortune was established, and they could depend on my resolution, they were resolved to recede from the oath of union, in order to avoid exposing my life in future. They protested, that their resolution was unanimous, and that they made this declaration in consequence of their personal attachment to me. I thanked them for this singular mark of friendship, but I declared my fixed and unalterable determination to break the bonds of our slavery, and proposed to them to renew the oath of union. Mr. Panow advised us to send an express to Nisneynovogrod to inform our companions of what had happened, in order that no false account might cause them to give up the hope of recovering their liberty. Pursuant to this advice, Sibaew was dispatched, and as the course of business at my school was interrupted by these intervening events, I entrusted the care of it to Mr. Wynbladth, major of the confederation, who was taken a prisoner, and exiled with me, and I nominated Mr. Meden as his assistant, who had been long exiled, and was of the same country as the Major, namely, Sweden.

On the 9th Mr. Baturin finished the charts which I had composed of the northern navigation. I presented them to the chancellor, who, after expressing his appro-

ɔation, laid them before the council, and obtained the governor's consent to send them to the College of Admiralty at Petersburgh. On the same day the chancellor presented the report for intrusting me with an establishment to cultivate the land in Lopattka, and, after a short discussion, the governor passed an act in council, by which the assistance of Government was promised me in forming my establishment. By this act I found myself authorized to form a colony of exiles. For the partiality of the governor and principal men of the town was of such admirable service in explaining the ordonnances of the Czar Peter, that the governor thought himself authorized to declare in this act, that all exiles who should repair to the country of Lopattka to form a colony, and settle there for the purpose of cultivating the ground, should be absolved from their sentence of exile; and all this was done in conformity to the sense of the laws, which were found to declare clearly, that every proscribed and exiled person, who shall have rendered essential services to the state, of such a nature as tends to its preservation, shall be capable of receiving the favour of absolution. This proceeding of a whole council convinced me that there are no laws which cannot be interpreted as convenience may dictate. The present day's work completed my satisfaction; for after I had declared in the council that I had disposed all the exiles to undertake the establishment of this new colony, the governor commanded me to bring them, that they might sign their declaration to that effect. I flew home with this order, and assembled my friends, to whom I explained my message. They immediately followed me to the chancery, to sign their submission; in consequence of which the governor caused an amnesty to be published in their favour.

The rapidity of my operations astonished every one; but that which gave me the greatest pleasure was the

conviction that no one suspected my intentions. When we left the chancery, we proceeded in a body to return our thanks to the governor, the chancellor, the hettman, and other councillors: the rest of the day was employed in visiting the merchants and other inhabitants of the town. While I was at the house of Kolosow the hettman, the family of Casarinow intreated me to cause him to be set at liberty, and to procure a repeal of the sentence by which he was condemned to labour in the mines. I promised this afflicted family that I would use my best endeavours, but as I had learned that his fortune, which was confiscated, amounted to more than sixty thousand roubles, I clearly saw how difficult the business would be; for it was certain that I could not save this unhappy man, but on condition that he should give up all thoughts of reclaiming his property. I informed his wife of my fears; but she assured me, that her husband would submit to the sacrifice on condition that the governor would employ him in a voyage to the Kurelles islands to collect the tributes. I therefore promised to obtain his liberty; and as this act of generosity might add greatly to my reputation, I determined to use every effort to overcome such obstacles as might present themselves.

On the same evening I had an opportunity to speak to the chancellor, and accordingly proposed the affair to him. He was displeased at first; but when I informed him that Casarinow renounced his fortune, he hesitated, and a short time after told me, he had thought of a method to remove every difficulty; but that he would communicate his ideas to the governor and the hettman, and give a decisive answer in the course of twenty-four hours.

On the 10th I assembled a committee, in which, after having discussed our common interests, we resolved to make the necessary preparations to repair to the country of Lopattka in the month of March, at which place

we should pretend to busy ourselves in establishing our colony: And that at a proper opportunity we would request a vessel from the governor to transport our effects and provisions; on the arrival of which we would take possession of it, and bid adieu to this wretched place.

In conformity with this resolution, we determined to collect provisions sufficient for a voyage by sea of three months. At the breaking up of the committee I proposed to give the society an entertainment on the occasion of our absolution from slavery, to which all the principal men of the town should be invited. My proposal was approved of, and Mr. Crustiew was directed to make every requisite preparation.

About noon Mr. Casimir came to inform me that the meeting of the gentlemen of the town had determined to make me a present of six thousand roubles, one-third ready money, one-third in merchandize, and the rest in provisions and articles of domestic use. I accepted this mark of generosity; and as the message was delivered in writing, I returned my answer in the same manner, taking care to use every expression suitable to the extent of my gratitude.

After the departure of Mr. Casimir I waited upon the governor to dinner, and obtained his permission to give the proposed entertainment at the town-house. It was fixed on the 15th, because the governor was desirous of setting out on his journey on the 16th.

When dinner was ended, the chancellor came in, together with the hettman. They conferred a short time with the governor in his closet, after which I was sent for, and was informed that the liberty of Casarinow was granted, on condition that he should immediately go to the Kurelles islands, and remain there two years, which was a sufficient time to repair his loss; for these gentlemen were not at all disposed to restore his fortune. The governor charged me with the message, which I

immediately executed. Upon entering the prison, I saw this unhappy man at my feet, intreating my forgiveness for having attempted to take away my life. I interrupted his lamentations, by demanding what reason he could have to hope for favour from me? He replied, by conjuring me to have pity on him, and pardon him on account of his unfortunate family. At length, however, being desirous of removing his apprehensions, I proposed to him the conditions under which I believed I could deliver him from imprisonment. These he accepted with professions of eternal gratitude, and at last, when he was told that I had obtained permission for him to go to the Kurelles islands, he assured me that a single year would be sufficient to re-establish his fortune. Whereupon I declared that he should be set at liberty as soon as the vessels were ready to convey him there. This information transported him with joy. He embraced my feet, and used all the expressions of the most lively sentiments of gratitude.

Being thus assured of Casarinow's readiness to accept the terms proposed, I quitted him to render an account to the governor, who was delighted with his compliance, and ordered the chancellor to expedite him, with the serjeant Cusmina, to the Kurelles islands. I perceived that the governor was desirous of conversing in private with the chancellor and the hettman, and therefore took my leave. As I passed through the town I called on the family of Casarinow, and informed them of the favour the governor had granted him. I naturally expected acknowledgment and thanks: but my heart was not proof against the surprize of beholding a family at my feet, who called me their protector and benefactor. Ivan Csorni, who since the affair of Casarinow called no more upon me, came likewise to embrace me, and addressed himself in the following words: "Listen, my friend. I was informed of your attempt as well as

Casarinow, and consequently I had as great a right to be your enemy as he. We were partners in the accusation intended to be made against you, but I was not an accomplice in the attempt to poison you. The misfortune which afterwards happened to my relation caused me to swear your destruction. Your generosity to him has reconciled me, and I not only swear to keep all I know in secrecy, but I likewise devote myself to your service in every thing you may require me to do."

This explanation astonished me, but I said no more, in answer, than that I hoped his gratitude would be shewn in forgetting all that had passed. Upon my return I related the incidents of the day to my companions, who rejoiced at the happy situation of our affairs.

## CHAPTER XIII

On the 11th, Madame Nilow sent to desire me to wait upon her, and informed me, that she wished her daughter might do the honours of the entertainment of the 15th, and that she should be publickly declared my future spouse. As I could find no proper excuse, I consented to her request, upon which she caused her daughter to be called, and recommended her to be careful that the business of the day should be conducted in such a manner as to do her honour.

After the departure of her mother, my pretended future spouse reproached me for being more attached to the society of my companions than hers; and I answered her pressing remonstrances by promising to wait upon her as frequently as possible.

About noon, being engaged to dine with the governor, who now called me by no other name than son, he requested me to compose a short description of Kamchatka, in a form proper for the press; as he was desirous of exhibiting proofs of his abilities. I promised to write the work according to his ideas, and engaged to finish it during our journey. He expressed his satisfaction at this promise, and embraced me, saying, that he hoped by this work to obtain the government of Ochoczk. After dinner he informed me in confidence, that the affair of Casarinow had been worth eighteen thousand roubles to him; but that the

rascal would be well replenished by the voyage he was going to make.

In the evening, the governor being invited to sup with Ivan Csorni, I accompanied him with my intended lady. Mr. Proscurakow engaged me to play at chess, and a very strong party was formed. The chancellor and the hettman were on my side; and Proscurakow, Ottlaskow, and Ribnikow, were on the opposite side. The game was for five hundred roubles ready money, twenty dozen martin skins, twelve beavers, and twelve black foxes skins. After a long contest I won the game, as well as three others following. Our play detained us till three in the morning, and my share of the winnings amounted to near eight hundred roubles.

The governor took a pleasure in looking on, and I did not quit the company till about four in the morning, when I attended him to his house, where I offered to take my leave, but was detained on pretence of the danger of accidents. But great was my surprize, when the governor's lady introduced me into the chamber of Miss Aphanasia, where she took her leave, saying, I hope you will be prudent; but as it is proper you should be accustomed to live together, I thought you could not be better lodged than with my daughter; with these words she retired, wishing me a good night. Astonished as I was at this speech and manner of proceeding, so contrary to the customs of Europe, I had ample matter to form systems, but my charming companion did not permit me to employ my thoughts on meditations of this kind. She had so much to say and I to answer, that we passed the time without thinking of sleep, and I did not leave her company till eight in the morning.

When I returned home, I found Mr. Crustiew and my other friends very uneasy at my absence; but their apprehensions disappeared as soon as they saw me. The fatigue of the foregoing day required that I should

take some repose. I therefore retired to sleep, after reminding Mr. Crustiew of his having undertaken that every preparation should be regularly made for the 15th. When I awoke, at five in the evening, I had the pleasure to see my pretended future spouse beside me, who expressed the most lively apprehensions for my health, and declared that she would not quit me; for which purpose she had already sent to her mother to inform her, that she had found me indisposed, and was resolved to sit up with me. It was to no purpose for me to represent that her attachment to me might injure her in the opinion of her father, for she persisted in her resolution; and during the discussion of this point between us, Madame Nilow's maid arrived, and brought word that her mistress approved the determination of her daughter, and for that reason had sent her servant and her bed; after which message, and the usual enquiries concerning my health, the servant returned. This day passed without any unfavourable incident.

On the 13th, I conducted my pretended future spouse to the governor's, and was received in the most affectionate manner. The governor took me into his closet, begged me to come in future every morning for an hour, to read the reports and letters which he received, in order to make a regular statement of their contents, and draw out the answers or orders. As his desire was a command to me, I endeavoured to perform this task with zeal, and to the utmost of my abilities; after which I took my leave, as I was desirous of passing the day with my companions, in order to regulate certain arrangements necessary to secure our correspondence during my journey.

When I returned home I was complimented by my companions, who presented me with a complete and magnificent habit of red sattin, edged with gold lace and faced with sables, with a pair of buskins very curiously embroidered; at the same time requesting

that I would wear it on the 15th. After this prelude, which was attended with every testimony of friendship and regard, I appointed a general meeting to be held after dinner. I exhorted my associates of the committee to be more particularly careful than ever to preserve our secret, as the least indiscretion would ruin us all. I did not conceal from them my fears respecting my absence, for which reason I desired them to make an oath of obedience, without restriction, to the orders of Mr. Crustiew, and to do nothing without his consent: And as I was desirous of maintaining a regular correspondence with Mr. Crustiew, I requested them to appoint me three companions of the ordinary number, who might pretend to be hired by me; in order, that in case of any misfortune or unlucky incident, I might not be unsupported, but might avail myself of their services to send notice to the other associates in time, if any treacherous discovery should come to light. In consequence of my proposal it was determined that Ivan Kudin, George Lapkin, and Nicholas Rubatow, should follow me, each having a sledge and being well armed, and attended by a native on whom he could depend. Mr. Panow added, that he did not think this precaution sufficient, but was desirous that several of the society should offer their services to the governor to hire sledges and to conduct them themselves for his security and convenience. Mr. Panow's proposition was agreed to, and Mr. Kuzneczow undertook to propose this affair to the governor. So that as the attendants of Mr. Kuzneczow would consist of six sledges, I should by that means have an addition of twelve armed men, which, together with myself and the six others, amounted to nineteen, a sufficient number to withstand the first check. This precaution being settled, we passed that day and the following evening in an agreeable manner.

On the morning of the 14th, Mr. Hettman came to see me, and intreated me to persuade the governor to

send him to Petersburgh in the spring, and support his request, that her Imperial Majesty would permit him to form an establishment in the Aleuthes islands, under himself as governor. The ambition of this personage was well known to me, though I could not avoid smiling, in my own mind, at the enthusiasm of the man, who, with very little abilities, was desirous to become a legislator. Nevertheless, as his friendship and good will were necessary to me, I promised to obtain the governor's consent to his request, and engaged to draw up a memorial, on the part of the governor, in support of his proposal. My complaisance led him to profess the strongest attachment to me, to which he added a promise, that on his return I should be invested with the government of Kamchatka, while my future father-in-law should be established at Ochoczk. According to his ideas, our triumvirate was to be unalterable; but as the chancellor was left out of the plan, I proposed to this new governor to confer upon him the government of Kamchatka; observing that I should be contented to attend him to the Aleuthes islands in the quality of second, where I might be of the greatest service to him in the conquest of California, a project which stood foremost in the imagination of Mr. Hettman.

The tone of conviction which I used in saying this to the hettman, encouraged him to give full scope to his imagination; and the remainder of the conversation clearly proved the extravagance of his ideas, for I could easily perceive that it was with some reluctance that he retained the idea of a state of dependence, while he had it in his power to become a sovereign.

After his departure, I communicated the subject of his visit to my companions, and could not avoid reflecting how little the Russian senate, by whose degree I was sent into exile, were aware of the projects which then employed my mind, and more especially the ideas to which I gave birth, of establishing empires, and

robbing the Spaniards of their remote possessions by arranging this chimerical project in writing. Nevertheless it led me to the probability, that at some future time California might be taken by the Russians, and that the Spanish colonies might, sooner or later, become their prey.

About noon I waited on the governor, and gave him an account of the project of the hettman, with so many reasons in its favour, that he declared himself satisfied with it, seduced, no doubt, by the hope of obtaining the government of Ochoczk. After dinner, when the chancellor and hettman arrived, the proposition of the latter was treated of at large, and I saw, with the greatest satisfaction, that all these three personages adopted my plan, which they commissioned me to draw out. It therefore lay with me to create these three governors, to whom I accordingly promised the utmost exertions of my pen in their favour. This day gave me a decided superiority at Kamchatka. Hitherto I had been useful to these three chiefs, but when they adopted a system, the composition of which rested with me, I became more than useful, for I was then indispensably necessary to them. In the evening I retired to enquire concerning the preparations for our entertainment. Mr. Crustiew gave me an ample account, from which I was satisfied that every particular was arranged in the best manner.

On the 15th, at nine o'clock, all the exiles came to me, perfectly well and even richly clothed. We proceeded from my house to that of the governor, in twenty-three sledges, each drawn by four dogs, where we were received affectionately. The chancellor and the hettman being present saved us the trouble of going to their houses. The governor gave us a list of persons whom he desired to be admitted. I then detached several parties of my companions to invite the guests, while myself, with Mr. Crustiew and my intended spouse, went to the town-house to give orders. We

had eleven musicians, and sixty-seven covers were served up to thirty-five gentlemen and thirty-one ladies, for the young gentlemen and unmarried ladies were invited only to the dance, which followed the entertainment. As the hettman had lent me three pieces of artillery, we fired them off on the arrival of the governor's family. At two o'clock the company sat down to table, and did not rise till five, at which hour the younger part of the company began the dances, which lasted till three. Mr. Kuzneczow insinuated himself so well into the favour of the governor, that his company, and the offer of six sledges to carry the governor's effects and equipages, were accepted of. He immediately informed me of his success; for which I embraced and thanked him with all my heart.

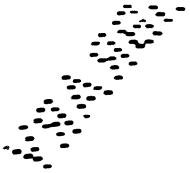
When the governor retired, he told me he would defer his journey till the 17th, as he was desirous of a day's repose after this entertainment; a resolution which was very agreeable to me, as I myself felt the same necessity for an interval of rest.

When the company broke up, Madame Nilow presented her youngest daughter, and declared her my future spouse. This attracted compliments from all sides, with a degree of jealousy from some of the merchants and young officers.

When I had seen the governor home, as I excused myself from remaining at his house, Miss Nilow accompanied me home, to look to my health, as she said; and I passed the whole of the 16th within doors, till the evening, about six o'clock, when I conducted my intended lady home, and received the orders of the governor, who placed the whole care of his voyage and the business of a secretary upon me. Our attendants were to consist of nineteen sledges and forty-six persons, and our departure was settled at six in the morning of the 17th.

Walter Scott Ph. Sc.

*Carriage drawn by Dogs, used at Kamchatka*



## CHAPTER XIV

The following is a journal of our travels. On the 17th in the morning, about ten o'clock, we quitted Bolsorezky Ostrogg, and arrived at Molerowka, at which place the tajon, being informed of our arrival, regaled us with fish and cavear, and made the governor a present of several furs. The weather was severe and frosty, with an easterly wind in our faces.

On the 18th we left Molerowka, and proceeded to Baniowka, where we were received and entertained by exiles, who likewise made the governor a valuable present of furs.

On the 19th we left Baniowka, and the river of the same name, and, after much labour and fatigue, we arrived at Herebostova. Here the tajon of Koanik complained to the governor, that a soldier of the garrison of Verchney Ostrogg, after having violated his daughter, had slain her. In consequence of this accusation, which was proved, the governor directed me to expedite an order to Verchney Ostrogg, that the said soldier should suffer the knout until he died.

On the 20th we arrived at Chiakollautka, almost martyred by the impetuosity of the wind, and very near being swallowed up by the drifts of snow. We had scarcely entered the jourt of the tajon before it blew a perfect hurricane, and in the morning we found

our dwelling buried under the snow. The country people exerted themselves to open a passage through the snow, in order to get out. Being desirous of taking a view of the country, I ascended through the hole; but it was impossible to discover the least signs of any house, though I knew that our attendants were lodged in nine different adjacent jourts. The continuance of the hurricane, which considerably augmented the quantity of snow about us, compelled us to remain here till the 25th.

On the 26th, in the morning, we departed, and towards evening arrived at Valowka, where we found certain exiles, whose occupation consisted in making salt in the bay of Avatcha.

On the 27th I accompanied the governor to visit this famous bay. It is a noble basin, into which I observed that a large river and three others emptied themselves, though the Russians affirm the contrary. We afterwards proceeded to visit a store-house situated to the northward of the bay.

On the 28th our attendants joined us, and we passed near the lake of Nataschova, and arrived at Katchoun, where the governor received very considerable presents. Here we were joined by the hettman and the chancellor, whose company served to enliven our conversation.

On the 29th we passed near another lake named Kimak, and proceeded to Alzime. On the 30th we left Alzime, and arrived at Tahallka, where the governor determined to rest. The tajon, who was one of the most considerable in the province, did not fail to regale us with rein deers flesh, the fruit of larac,* and Jukola, which is a kind of fish dried.

On the 2d of February we proceeded to Kronotowa, where I was desirous of seeing the head land of Kronock, which lay to the eastward of us, while the lake of Kronock lay to the west; but the governor opposed

* This word is obscure in the manuscript.

my design, by assuring me that the road was not cleared, and I might probably be buried in the snow. On the 3d we proceeded to Katham, from which place I sent to Nisney Conratiew, to advise my companions of our arrival, and to direct them to bring a present of their finest furs for the governor, the chancellor, and the hettman. On the 4th we arrived through a very bad road, over mountains and precipices, to Chovalova, where we found Mr. Norin, commanding officer at Nisney, together with the principal merchants, waiting for us; who informed the governor that considerable presents were prepared for his arrival in town.

On the 5th, after having passed the river Kamerath, a part of the exiles presented themselves before the governor, to whom they announced their intention of making presents, and afterwards joined our suite. On the same day, about six in the evening, we arrived at the town or village of Verchney, where the governor alighted at the habitation of the protopop, and I lodged with him; but the others fixed their lodging with the town's people. On the 6th I received orders to forward all the presents to Bolsha, and, from a moderate estimation, I found that the governor's journey to Nisney had been worth near seven thousand roubles to him.

We remained in this town till the 13th; and as the severity of the cold did not allow me to make any excursions, I employed my time in drawing up a description of Kamchatka, in order to promote the designs of the governor. My work was interrupted only by the game of chess, which was eagerly studied by every one who was desirous of distinguishing himself from the common rank of people. My winnings at this game amounted to near thirteen thousand roubles, in furs and ready money, which the chancellor and the hettman shared with me.

On the 13th we reached the village of Kamenin,

where all my projects would have been overthrown, if a lucky accident had not averted this most imminent danger. On the 14th, in the morning, I came out to direct Mr. Kuzneczow to send an express to our associates at Bolsha, to advise them of our return. As soon as I came out I was accosted by a native, who requested to be introduced to the governor, as he said he had a letter for him from an exile who had been taken ill, and was by that means prevented from waiting on the governor himself. I ordered this man to follow me, and went with him to Kuzneczow, where, after opening the letter, I saw it contained an account of the secrets of our union, from one of the associates named Levantiew. This man came from Nisney to join the governor, and make his report in person; but, happily for our cause, a violent cholic seized him in the middle of his journey, and forced him to adopt the expedient of sending a letter to the governor. Upon this information I ordered Kuzneczow to depart immediately with Ivan Kudrin, and dispatch the traitor. I then rejoined the governor, with whom I breakfasted, after which we proceeded on our journey.

We arrived at Kolitova, where I requested the governor to remain, on pretence of visiting the volcano of Krasnaia. He consented, and on the 15th we proceeded to view this famous volcano. I approached within five toises of its mouth, where a sudden exhalation of sulphureous fume surprized me, and caused me to fall backwards among the hot ashes, which burnt my face. But, fortunately for me, there were several natives of Kamchatka near at hand, who were provided with iron hooks, with which they dragged me out, and, after having rubbed the burned parts with whale oil, they reconducted me to Kolitova, where I found Mr. Kuzneczow returned from his expedition. He reported, that Levontiew had declared his resolution to his cousin at Nisney, who, not being able to dissuade him

from it, had poisoned him in a glass of brandy, which they drank together: and that, on the arrival of Kuzneczow, this unhappy wretch was at the point of death. He confessed his intention to Kuzneczow, and entreated, as a favour, that he would put him out of his misery, at the same time that he declared the society had nothing more to fear, since his letter was intercepted; because he had discovered his intention to no one but his cousin, who, faithful to his engagement, had poisoned him. This account gave me great satisfaction, and induced me to press the governor to return; but, as he was determined first to visit Tigilb, nothing could be done but follow him.

On the 16th we arrived at Napana, where I met a foreign exile, whose acquaintance I immediately requested, and was not a little surprized to behold a man of the age of ninety-two years in perfect health. He told me his name was Ehrenschild, a Swedish colonel, who had been exiled forty-nine years before into Siberia, and had dwelt at Kamchatka for twenty-two years. I proposed to him to join us at Bolsha, to which he consented, and for which purpose I obtained the governor's permission, but this unfortunate person died a short time after.

On the 17th we arrived at Chippin, where we found the jourts forsaken. On the 18th we arrived at Voloska, which was likewise deserted, and on the 19th we at last arrived at Tigilb, a town and fort which I shall hereafter describe. At this place the governor remained three days, and received considerable presents. On the 22d we proceeded from thence to Galiny. On the 23d we arrived at Belozolova, and on the 24th at Sigican. On the 25th we reached Takout, from whence the governor sent the chancellor and the hettman the next day to Verchney Ostrogg to inspect the military, while he himself, with his attendants, continued his journey towards Bolsha.

On the 27th we arrived at Ivanka, and lastly, on the 28th, at Bolsheretzkoy Ostrogg, where I was received by my friends with that cordiality which can only be found in a society united by indissoluble interests. The fatigue of my journey did not allow me to proceed in copying out the work I had written for the governor, which, for that reason, was not presented till some days after; and as it may convey some information respecting this remote part of the world, I shall insert it in this place.

## CHAPTER XV

The peninsula of Kamchatka forms the north-east extremity of Asia, extending from the 62d to the 51st degree of north latitude. The western coast of Kamchatka is very sinuous, forming many harbours, and is intersected by many rivers, among which Bolsha is the largest. Vessels from Ochoczk enter this river, which, however, they cannot do with safety but at the time of spring tides, which rise between nine and eleven feet. It is difficult to go up this river on account of its rapid stream and the great number of islands it contains.

Kamchatka, by offering an asylum for our navigators during winter, engages them in the pursuit of discoveries. At the present time it is merely a place of rendezvous, and storehouse for the exchange of rich furs, brought by the hunters from the Kurelles and Aleuthes islands; but in case the sovereign should think proper to establish colonies in those islands, and cultivate a trade with China, Japan, Korea, and Idzo, Kamchatka would become a source of great riches and prosperity to the Russian empire.

This peninsula may likewise serve to establish a communication between the two continents of Asia and America. The only commodious port on the eastern coast is the bay of Avatcha, named Racova. The governor of Kamchatka has built a regular fortress, capable of defending its entrance.

The inhabitants of the torrid zone are indebted to

the sun for the art of producing fire, but the northern nations owe this to volcanos. I apprehend these phænomena to be an effect of the central heat of the earth, which bursts forth, and that the sea may contribute to the phænomena by a fermentation, engendered by the saline parts of the waters, filtrated through the earth. Without entering into conjectures respecting the origin of volcanos, I must take notice that there are more than twenty in the peninsula of Kamchatka; of these, the three most celebrated are at Avatcha, Tolbatschz, and the third near the river of Kameralteria. The same principles which have given rise to volcanos have produced a great number of hot springs, which have been found to possess the efficacy of mineral waters. The water which flows from these springs is covered with a black scum, some of which I collected, and found it perfectly adapted for use as India or China ink.

With regard to the fertility of the soil of Kamchatka, after having made many remarks and observations, I cannot avoid contradicting the different accounts which have been delivered at the chancery. All the attempts which have been made to produce grain have been unsuccessful, except on ground prepared by manure. Though some wood is naturally produced, sufficient for the construction of huts, there is none proper to be used in building of shipping. In this respect I can contradict Mr. Steller, who likewise reports, that this country abounds in herbage, and that the cattle are of a prodigious size. If there had been any cattle at Kamchatka in his time their number ought to have increased till the year 1771, in which I made the tour of the place; and throughout the whole of Kamchatka I found only five cows and two bulls, which were fed with the bark of birch nine months in the year, for there is no verdure except between the months of July and September.

## CHAPTER XV

Neither is the climate and the air of Kamchatka so mild as many writers pretend. A continual mist, which covers the whole country, produces scorbutic disorders and other illnesses, which check population. The cold is so extreme that several soldiers were found, during the late winters, frozen on their stands. The long duration of the snow likewise occasions blindness, insomuch that the natives of the country seldom exceed forty years of age before they become blind.

Kamchatka produces metals. Near Avatset I found iron ores, and near Girova the ore of copper. The mountains afford rock chrystal, some specimens of which are green and reddish; the natives of the country use it to make heads for their javelins. The only kind of trees which grow in Kamchatka are a species of bastard fir, cedars, willows, and birch; the cedar affords a grain which the natives are very fond of: the bark of the willows and the birch serves them instead of bread. The only useful plant in this country is the sarana, which flowers, and affords fruit in the month of August. The natives of Kamchatka make a large provision of this substance, which, together with cavear, forms a certain paste, which they think delicious, but upon which I think I never could support life. Besides the sarana, government has caused another plant to be collected under the name of Vinovaya, from which a kind of brandy is distilled, which produces a moderate revenue, but is hurtful in its use, as nothing can equal the poison of this plant. The governor would act very prudently by prohibiting this distillation, and importing a larger quantity of brandy from Europe.

Kamchatka makes no great figure with respect to animals. The first rank belongs to the dog, which serves instead of draught horses, and, after its death, affords a skin for the clothing of man. The dogs of Kamchatka are large, but active and laborious; they are fed with opana, which is a composition of stale fish

and the bark of the birch, but they are most commonly obliged to seek their own food, which they find in the rivers produced by the hot springs, where they find fish.

The fox comes next after the dog; its skin is glossy, and there is no fur in Siberia which can be put in competition with the fox's skin of Kamchatka.

The ram of Kamchatka is excellent food; its skin is highly valued, and its horns are likewise an article of commerce; but of late years the number of this species has greatly diminished.

The sable is very common in Kamchatka, and the natives continually hunt this animal, as do likewise the hunters. The number of sables brought to market last year from Kamchatka amounted to six thousand eight hundred.

The fur of the marmotte is very warm and light.

Bears are very numerous in Kamchatka; their disposition is gentle, and they do no mischief; except in their own defence. The hunters are obliged to hunt the bear for subsistence, but it often happens that they get torn, though the bear very seldom kills a man. It seems as if this animal spared the life of the creature it no longer fears: they have never been known to hurt women. These creatures are fat during the summer and lean in winter.

### *Amphibious Animals.*

The manate resembles a cow in the form of its head. The females have two nipples, and hold their young against their bosoms. The French have named this animal lamenti, from its cry. It has a black rough skin, as thick as the bark of an oak, and capable of resisting the stroke of an hatchet. The teeth of the manate are preferred to ivory. Kamchatka affords annually of these between two hundred and fifty and

three hundred. The flesh of the manate resembles beef when full grown, and veal when young.

Kamchatka likewise affords beavers. The fur of this creature is as soft as down; its teeth are small and sharp, but its tail short, flat and broad, terminating in a point. Beavers are catched here with the line, and sometimes they are shot under the ice.

The sea-lion is of the size of an ox; its cry is dreadful; but, happily for navigators, it is one of the signs of the vicinity of land during the fogs, which are so common here. The sea-lion is a timid animal; it is struck with the harpoon, or shot with the musket, or bow and arrow.

The sea-calf is found in great abundance near all the islands and headlands of Kamchatka; it never goes far from shore, but enters the mouths of rivers to devour fish. The skin of the sea-calf is used to make buskins. The inhabitants of Kamchatka take this animal with the line.

Kamchatka affords a large quantity of different kinds of fish, from the whale to the smallest species, but the birds of this country are few; and as I know of nothing new with respect to either, I shall here conclude this article.

## CHAPTER XVI

The original people of Kamchatka call themselves Itelmen, which word denotes inhabitants of the country. If we were to attempt to discuss their origin from the construction of their language, we should declare them to be descendants of the Mongal tartars: their figure resembles that people: their hair is black, their beard is thin, and their face broad and flat. This nation possesses no tradition respecting its origin: it was numerous at the arrival of the first Cossacks, but has since greatly diminished.

The natives of Kamchatka have no other subsistence than fish, roots, bear's flesh, and the bark of trees, with water to drink, and sometimes brandy, for which they pay very dear to the merchants.

Though this people is at present cloathed, for which advantage they are indebted to the Europeans, it has cost them dear, when placed in the balance against the barbarous and tyrannical treatment they have experienced from their new masters. Their women are exceedingly disposed to luxury, to such a degree, that they do not perform the offices of the kitchen without their gloves on; and they would not, on any account, suffer themselves to be seen by a stranger without their gloves and rouge, which they smear in large quantities upon their hideous countenances. These people dwell in two kinds of houses; their winter habitation is called yourth, and that of the summer balagan.

## CHAPTER XVI

The whole religion of the natives of Kamchatka consists in the belief that their God, having formerly dwelled in Kamchatka, fixed his habitation upon the banks of each river several years, and peopled those places with his children, to whom before his disappearance to establish himself elsewhere, he gave the circumambient country for an inheritance. For this reason they never quit a domain so ancient and unalienable.

The sensations of this people are merely corporeal. Happiness, in their opinion, consists in idleness, and the gratification of the natural appetites. It is impossible to persuade them that any mode of life can be more happy or more agreeable than theirs, and they always consider the manner of living in Russia as worthy of their utmost contempt and disdain.

The inhabitants of Kamchatka have a peculiar custom in contracting marriages: but as this usage is described in the memoir of Spamberg, I shall not repeat it in this place. Every intimacy between the sexes is allowed of, and, according to the principles of the Kamchatka nation, a plurality of wives is allowed; but the Russian government forbids poligamy, in which respect perhaps it tends to depopulate this country.

It is difficult to conceive what reasons could lead so wretched a people, who have nothing either to lose or to gain, to enter into war. But it is very certain that they are strongly addicted to revenge. The object of their wars can be only that of making prisoners, to employ the men in work, and subject the women to their pleasures. There is no doubt, however, but that the Cossacks on their arrival excited troubles and differences among them, in order to profit by their intestine wars. The conquest of the nation has been a very difficult task to the Cossacks, for, though feeble in its wretchedness, it has shewn itself terrible in its defence. They have availed themselves of stratagem and treachery when force was unsuccessful; and if it be

true that this nation is base, yet the fear of death prevails so little among them, that suicide is very common. There are instances of these people being besieged by the Cossacks in a place of retreat, and, when destitute of all hope of escape, they have first cut the throats of their wives and children, and afterwards killed themselves. The use of muchomor is convenient for this purpose, as a dose of it causes them to die by a profound sleep, which deprives them of all sensation. The muchomor is a kind of champignon, very common in this country; the infusion of which causes drunkenness and hilarity, but, if used to excess, produces strong convulsions, which terminate in death.

After I had presented my abridgment of the history of Kamchatka to the governor, who found it a masterpiece in his opinion, excepting that the expressions were not sufficiently free from a foreign manner, I applied all my attention to contrive such measures and precautions as might insure the success of my plan. The two instances of treachery I had experienced made me very uneasy; and as I had to do with people who were governed by the prejudice of religion, I could not take too much precaution to secure myself. In consequence of this, I convened all my associates on the 1st of March, about six in the evening. I opened the committee by giving an account of my voyage and the death of Levontiew, after which I declared that it appeared necessary, in my opinion, that we should summon all those who were absent, in order that we might be ready to defend ourselves, or to make an attack in case of necessity.

Mr. Meder informed the committee that he had prepared one hundred cartouch boxes, each containing forty-eight full cartridges, and sixty other charges fastened to each; and that Mr. Crustiew had collected, or caused to be made, sixty knives, which might be used to advantage instead of cutlasses, as each of them

was eighteen inches long and three broad: that sixteen pair of pistols and thirty-six hatchets had been purchased; and that Mr. Panow had caused one hundred pikes to be made.

The number of our company amounted to fifty-nine persons, every one of whom appeared fully determined to support each other. I therefore assured my companions that when we had united our forces we should be able to resist every open attack, provided we were all together. For this reason I ordered Mr. Panow to send an immediate express to those that were absent. The approach of spring permitted our coming together without exciting any suspicion; because the governor and all the inhabitants of Kamchatka were persuaded that our attention was taken up in preparations for our establishment on the extremity of the peninsula.

In order to give more strength to this general opinion, I proposed to the society that we should draw up a memorial, and present it to the governor, in which we should pray him to grant us a ship to transport all our provisions and effects.

The meeting was on the point of breaking up, when Mr. Panow made a motion. He began by observing that the indiscretion of one single person would be sufficient to destroy all our hopes; for which reason he held it to be of the last necessity to resolve in this committee that the association should give up all authority into my hands, in order that, after having given so many proofs of my attachment to their interests, I might in future be dispensed from communicating my intentions respecting the measures I proposed to take, and the means which I intended to employ in carrying my plan into execution. He therefore proposed that the whole society should agree to submit implicitly to my orders, and to ratify this submission by an oath. He observed, that when the society had thus granted me the supreme authority, it

would depend upon myself to nominate my council and the chiefs who might be proposed to the parties I should hereafter form.

Mr. Stephanow opposed this motion; but it was agreed to by the society, so that Mr. Stephanow remained alone. In order to dissipate his confusion, I declared that I would nominate him a member of my council, because, as he was the only one who mistrusted my intentions, he might superintend my actions. The meeting, however, opposed his nomination, at the instance of Mr. Panow, who declared that Stephanow had rendered himself incapable of any confidence on our part, and that it was merely with a view of excluding him from our secrets that he had made his proposition. For he could not, as he observed, conceal that he was in possession of indications of treachery meditated on the part of Mr. Stephanow, though he had never chosen to search to the bottom of his intrigues, because he was desirous of sparing the life and honour of his relation. But he threatened, that if Mr. Stephanow did not consent to receive and submit to the future orders, till the day of our departure, he should hold himself obliged to employ every means in his power to come at the knowledge of his proceedings, and to expose him to the company.

I was extremely astonished to hear Mr. Panow express himself in this manner, in the presence of Mr. Stephanow, who did not answer a single word. The company, equally surprized, requested me to force Mr. Panow to declare what he knew; but I refused, by observing, that I respected the sentiments of Mr. Panow, and placed the most unbounded confidence in his declaration. Nevertheless I asked Mr. Stephanow, whether he would receive and obey the orders; to which he answered in the affirmative, at the same time that he loaded me with invectives, and declared that I was indebted to Mr. Panow for the preservation of my life.

He called his relation to witness, that he had no wish to betray the interests of the society, and that his vengeance had no other object in view than myself personally; a loss which, he said, was of little consequence, as he was well assured that many of the company were more capable of executing the appointment of chief than myself. He even took upon him to declare, that I had abused my authority in putting Levontiew to death, in which affair his cousin had been deceived, though the truth was, that I was desirous of usurping his fortune after his death. This confident assertion excited the indignation of Mr. Kuzneczow, who presented the letter of the deceased to the society. The hand-writing was immediately known, and the contents justified my resolution. This circumstance, however, produced no change in the ideas of Stephanow, who demanded the judgment of God between him and myself. This judgment is founded on a custom of the Cossacks, which establishes that the two opponents shall fight a duel, in presence of witnesses, and the person overcome is esteemed guilty.

His ridiculous appeal produced a division in the meeting. The most rational part were of opinion that it was necessary to interpose their authority, and condemn Stephanow; but the rest hesitated. Upon this division I thought it proper to answer for myself, being assured that it was of the greatest consequence that I should give proofs of resolution. I therefore replied that I accepted his challenge, and appointed ten o'clock the following day to give him satisfaction, at the distance of two leagues from our habitation.

The associates agreed to accompany us, under pretence of hunting. This incident occasioned the final termination of Mr. Panow's proposition to be retarded. He thought proper, nevertheless, to keep Mr. Stephanow in sight, and to endeavour to pacify him; but finding it impossible to produce any alteration in his disposition,

as he himself told me, he abandoned him to his unhappy fate.

On the 2d in the morning I ordered my sledge to be harnessed, and departed with Messrs. Crustiew and Kuzneczow for the rendezvous. Mr. Panow attended his relation, and at nine o'clock the whole company were met, and determined that the quarrel should be decided with the broad sword. As soon as we had received our arms he advanced towards me with unexampled temerity. I parried the first stroke he made, by engaging his sword, which broke in two; at which instant I stepped back to let him see that I was not disposed to take advantage of his being disarmed. The wretch then drew out a pistol, and fired it at me, without any other effect except that the ball grazed my left arm. His treachery irritated me to such a degree that I advanced towards him, though I saw a second pistol in his hand, which, however, missed fire. I then seized him and threw him on the ground. The associates immediately came up, and urged me to put him to death. This, however, I refused. I put him into their hands, requesting that they would spare the life of this wretched person; but my request did not prevent their insulting and ill treating him on all sides.

Mr. Panow took charge of him, and we returned to our habitations, where I appointed a meeting of the committee at six in the evening; and in the mean time I visited the governor, with whom I dined. Our discourse ran upon the projects of Mr. Hettman. I omitted nothing to confirm the governor in the hope of possessing the government of Ochoczk. After dinner Madame Nilow called me aside, and informed me that her daughter pressed her respecting the conclusion of our marriage, and consequently that it depended on me to persuade her to wait the moment fixed for our union; but that if I consented she would undertake to

dispose her husband to agree to the celebration of our union.

Being thus obliged to gain time, I had no other means of excuse than to urge my intention of first making an excursion to fix my new colony, and to build a house, and arrange my household affairs, that her daughter might not be exposed to the rigour of the season, without every necessary convenience. After a long conversation this good mother adopted my reasons, and pleaded my cause with her daughter, to whom she introduced me; but as she soon after left us, the whole charge fell upon me, and it was with difficulty that I prevailed on this amiable young lady to consent to the delay.

## CHAPTER XVII

At six in the evening, I repaired to our meeting, where Mr. Crustiew presided in my absence. He addressed me in the name of the whole company, which granted me the entire authority and most absolute command over the society. I accepted their submission, which was confirmed by mutual oath. After this ceremony, I required Mr. Panow to declare the motives which had determined Mr. Stephanow to attempt my life; he at first begged me not to press him in this respect, as he observed that he had given his word and oath to the unfortunate Stephanow, though he would not conceal that, in a long conversation with him since his last accident, he had obtained his permission to discover the causes that had produced his enmity towards me.

My friends all declared unanimously that it was necessary the wretch should himself appear, whereupon Kuzneczow immediately went out to fetch him. This unhappy man appeared before us, not only without the least confusion, but with a degree of audacity by which he appeared to dare me. I made a sign to Mr. Crustiew, who questioned him concerning the disposition of his mind, and the causes which had produced his extreme malice against me. His answer was to the following effect.

"Ever since I first knew your chief, I found it im-
"possible to forgive that superiority which he has

" assumed over us all. My jealousy was often out-
" rageous, but the confidence he reposed in me usually
" restored my recollection, and I have often applauded
" my own resolution in overcoming my natural disposi-
" tion, which led me to offend. I had even persuaded
" myself that I possessed the most unshaken attachment
" to him, when I was surprized by jealousy. I beheld
" the lovely daughter of the governor, I became en-
" amoured of her, and the certain knowledge of her
" approaching marriage with your chief, caused me to
" swear his destruction. You know the rest, gentlemen,
" and I here protest, that though his generosity has
" preserved my life, it has made no change in my
" intentions. If, therefore, it be of any consequence
" to you to preserve his life, do not spare mine."

Several members of the society represented his folly and baseness to him, but his answers only shewed that his mind was in a state of desperation. His situation, nevertheless, affected me, and I addressed myself to him in a mild and friendly manner, assuring him that I harboured no resentment against him, though he had just reasons to blame himself for the little confidence he reposed in me, before he made a determination to engage in so base an attempt against my safety. I acquainted him that it was very true I had an esteem for the governor's daughter, and had reasons to think myself the object of her affection; but that I did not intend to marry her, and consequently his despair was premature. I then called the whole company to witness the truth of my assertions; whereupon the unhappy Stephanow fell at my feet, begged a thousand pardons, and entreated me to forget all that had passed. I promised the most absolute compliance with this request, on condition that he would inviolably submit to the orders of the society; and with a view to make sure of him, I nominated three associates to attend him and watch his motions. After I had thus received the satis-

faction of recalling this man to his senses, I adjourned the committee till nine o'clock.

On the 3d, Mr. Panow waited upon me in the morning, to thank me for the goodness I had shewn to his unhappy friend, at the same time that, in his name, he requested permission to see me. I consented, the more willingly, as I could depend upon the rectitude of Mr. Panow. Stephanow arrived about ten o'clock, and entreated me to confirm the promise that I did not intend to marry the governor's daughter, which I did with the utmost earnestness; upon which he begged, that at the instant of my departure I would permit him to carry her off. Compassion for the man's unhappy situation, as well as the necessity of saving myself from the excess of his despair, induced me to promise, after advising him to be patient, that I would use every means to satisfy his wishes, as far as their accomplishment might agree with the inclinations of the young lady. This promise contented the poor man, who then returned to his confinement. Mr. Panow, after his departure, embraced me cordially, with many thanks for the pains I took to restore the peace of mind of his relation. The rest of the day was employed in composing the order of service for my companions, that every one might perform his task with propriety. In the evening the hettman came with several merchants to lose some games at chess, which happened to his wish, and produced no small profit; for his winnings did not amount to less than two thousand five hundred roubles that night.

On the 4th, I received a letter from Nisney Ostrogg, from one of the associates, named Loginow, who advised that three exiles from Verchney Ostrogg had resolved to wait upon me, in order to be admitted into our society, though he was assured that their design was to regain their liberty by betraying me. He expressed his suspicions that these three exiles had been informed of our design by the late Levontiew, and concluded his

letter by informing me that himself and Sibaew had resolved to return very soon, with all the other associates.

On the 5th, I convened a meeting to draw up a petition to the governor, requesting a vessel for the carriage of our utensils and effects to Lopattka, in order that we might form our establishment. After this business was dispatched, I informed them of the approaching arrival of our companions from Nisney Ostrogg, and the project of the three exiles of Verchney. With regard to the last affair, we resolved that we would confess to them that it was very true we had formed a design to escape from the tyranny under which we had suffered, but that since the governor had extended his protection to us, we had determined to form a new colony at Lopattka, and consequently we should propose to them to associate in our undertaking. I requested all the members of our society to converse with them agreeable to this arrangement.

Towards evening, a certain merchant, named Krasitnikow, arrived, and proposed to me to enter into a contract with him for the sole furnishing of our colony with supplies; on which account he promised to give credit for twelve thousand roubles. I replied, that this affair being a common concern to all the individuals who composed this new colony, I could not, for that reason, make any stipulation with him until I had first received their instructions, though I did not doubt their consent, on account of the great advantages the society would derive from such a credit. This poor merchant already devoured in imagination the great advantages which such an exclusion must produce. In hopes therefore, of purchasing my good will, he drew a purse of two hundred roubles out of his pocket, which he pressed me to accept, and which I did not think proper to refuse, as it served the better to cover my intentions and confirm the public in the persuasion that a new colony was really about to be formed. With this

view I likewise begged him to procure me some good carpenters and blacksmiths.

On the 6th, I was invited to spend the day with the hettman, who put a confused mass of papers into my hands, containing his projects relative to the Aleuthes islands; from which he begged me to compose a memorial to be presented to her Imperial Majesty. The head of this man was filled with such a numerous arrangement of chimerical projects, that it was with the utmost difficulty I could dissuade him from the grossest absurdities in the foundation of his system; and perhaps I should not have succeeded, if the chancellor, who arrived during our conference, had not supported my reasoning.

In the evening the governor's family arrived, who, at my request, invited some of my companions, among whom was Mr. Stephanow. I had before found an opportunity to persuade Miss Aphanasia to dissemble her sentiments towards him, which she promised to do, and I could depend on her promise. In this manner we passed the evening very agreeably, and I had sufficient leisure to make my reflections on the weakness of the human mind, when I saw that the same Stephanow, who, a short time before had used every effort for my destruction, was now continually loading me with the titles of his guardian angel and benefactor.

Upon our departure I accompanied the governor's lady home, at her own request, where I learned the discourse which had passed between Mr. Stephanow and Miss Aphanasia. The amount was that Stephanow had declared his love in due form, and entreated her to accept him for a husband. To this the lady answered, that as she had not yet had a sufficient opportunity to become acquainted with him, she could not accede to his proposal; but that she hoped time would tend to advance his expectations. She assured him that she had no aversion to his countenance, but that the accom-

plishment of his hopes would, it was to be feared, find great obstacles on the part of her parents, who expected a fortune to secure her future welfare; and, as Mr. Stephanow, being an exile, could have no possessions, the adjustment of that business would doubtless be very difficult. She further acquainted him that this greatest obstacle could only be removed by my protection, for which purpose she recommended him to employ every means of cultivating my friendship. I thanked this amiable young lady for her goodness, while at the same time I felt the sincerest regret to behold myself the instrument of her future affliction, though her kindness and friendship banished, for the moment, these afflicting thoughts from my mind.

## CHAPTER XVIII

On my return home Mr. Crustiew informed me of the arrival of Messrs. Ivaskin, Voladimir, and Puskarew, the three exiles concerning whom I had received information from Verchney. On the 7th, in the morning, I received a visit from Mr. Stephanow, who fatigued me by his meanness. At ten o'clock Mr. Ivaskin came to see me, together with his two companions. Their first conversation turned upon their sufferings and their birth, which they finished by compliments, and the observation that they had lived long enough in the world to be ready to submit to the commands of so enlightened a chief as myself, at the same time that they declared the intention for which they had come so far; namely, to be in readiness to sacrifice their lives to promote my interest. I thanked them for their compliment, but declared, that as I was equally wretched with themselves, it was out of my power to serve them in any other way than by mitigating, in some measure, the hardships of their situation, for which purpose, in case they chose to associate with us to form our new colony, I would readily share with them the advantages which our labour and industry might procure. This reply had a very striking effect upon their countenances. Mr. Ivaskin replied, that they had formed very different hopes, as they had heard from some of their intimate friends that I had resolved to pursue a plan to set the exiles at liberty; the hope of co-operating in which had been the sole motive of their

application to me. Upon this declaration I assured them, that it was true that the unhappy state of slavery in which I found myself, as well as the sufferings of such a number of brave men, had led me at first, to the determination of running all risks to procure our liberty, but that since government had granted us such distinguished marks of protection, and had given us the means of procuring an easy and comfortable situation, I had changed my resolution, and had persuaded all my companions to relinquish theirs; in consequence of which they had resolved to assist in my labours. I continued to display to them, at full length, the advantages that might be expected to result from our enterprize; and I gave so flattering an account of the hopes I had conceived of its success, that they were entirely convinced of its reality.

Several of our companions entered soon after, and the conversation turned entirely upon the means I had adopted to render our establishment successful. I took this opportunity of asking Mr. Ivaskin for his determination, who replied, that the thing required mature examination, and could not be decided in an instant; but Messrs. Puskarew and Voladimir declared that they would unite themselves to us without reserve, and at the same time proceeded to say, in the presence of Mr. Ivaskin, that as for him, they were determined to have no further connection with one who had formed the villainous project of obtaining his pardon by betraying a number of brave men. They declared that they had undertaken the journey with him, expressly with the intention of frustrating his design, in case our views had been to escape from Kamchatka, and proceeded to relate the whole of Ivaskin's project, who finding himself discovered, began to intreat for pardon. I said no more to him in reply, than that the idea alone of so vile an undertaking convinced me that he could not escape disgrace and punishment, though, with respect to myself,

as my conduct had been such as to fear no reproaches, I would consent to pardon him, on condition that he never again appeared in my sight.

After his departure, as I did not think it prudent to expose myself to the enterprizes of so base a wretch, I immediately waited on the chancellor, and acquainted him with Ivaskin's attempt. This account enraged the chancellor to such a degree, that he immediately went to the governor, and obtained an order to dispatch Ivaskin to Verchney, with an injunction never to return again to Bolsha. Thus ended the attempt of this insidious wretch. My companions congratulated me on its happy issue; but I required them to discover none of our views or intentions to our new associates, because I was desirous first of gaining a knowledge of their real intentions before we should communicate any particulars of information to them.

On the 8th, I convened the chiefs of our society, and went in a body with them to the chancery to present our petition, which the governor caused to be read. The decision of the council was, that, as government could not furnish us with a vessel, we should be supplied by baydars, which are large boats. In consequence of which resolution, a sufficient number of these boats were ordered to be delivered to us, which, by making several trips along the shore, might render us services equally essential with those of a larger vessel. To prevent delay the governor ordered them to be immediately delivered, and at the same time he caused the concession of the land of Lopattka to be given into my hands, together with the permission to begin my operations as soon as I thought proper.

This resolution, so unfavourable to our interests, destroyed our hope of possessing a vessel in our own power. I therefore assembled a committee, in which, after a considerable discussion, it was determined, that we should postpone our departure, under various pre-

tences, till we could seize a proper opportunity of gaining possession of an armed vessel by main force, and by that means making our escape. And, in order that the execution of this project might not be left entirely to accidental events, we appointed the 12th for a secret committee, the members of which were immediately nominated, and were as follows: Myself, President; Mr. Crustiew, Mr. Kuzneczow, Mr. Baturin, Mr. Panow, Mr. Gourcsinin, and Mr. Wynbladth.

On the 12th Sibaew, and Loginow arrived from Nisney Ostrogg with twelve other associates. I dined this day with the governor, and after dinner Madame Nilow acquainted me that she designed to cause a complete house to be constructed in wood, that it might be carried to the spot where I might establish the principal place of my new colony. She assured me, that I need not give myself any uneasiness concerning the arrangement of my household affairs, as she was determined to take charge of the whole; for she declared her intention, that my marriage with her daughter should be celebrated in the month of May at farthest. This delay removed the apprehensions I had began to entertain. I thanked her with all my heart for the care she had the goodness to take of my future establishment, and passed the rest of the day in the company of this worthy family. It was very late before I returned home, where I found a letter from Mr. Norin, commanding officer at Nisney, which was brought by Sibaew. This officer had forwarded to me a quantity of furs, in payment for the sum I had lent him. He felicitated me on my possession of the favour of the governor, and my approaching marriage, and concluded his letter by requesting my protection.

On the 10th, I conferred with the different persons appointed to form the committee of the 12th, and the rest of the day was employed in attending to our arms and ammunition.

On the 11th, the private meeting was held by adjournment, to appoint the order of service, in case we should be obliged to act by main force. It was settled as follows in three divisions.

The left wing, commanded by Mr. Wynbladth.
Mr. Kuzneczow,
Stephanow,
Sibaew,
Bielsky,
Lopcsow,
With thirteen associates.

The center, Myself chief.
Mr. Panow,
Ruimin,
Meder,
Srebernicow,
Loginow,
Baturin,
With fourteen associates.

The right wing, commanded by Mr. Crustiew.
Archidiacre Protopop,
The Prince Zadzkoy,
Brandorp,
Novozilow,
Lapkin,
Volkow,
With twelve associates.

With regard to Messrs. Puskarew and Voladimir, as well as Ismaelow and Bayarew, who had been before proposed by Mr. Stephanow, we determined to communicate no part of our intentions to them 'till after the expedition. On the same day it was determined, that all the arms should be carried into our hall of meeting, where they should be kept charged, and in

order to conceal them from view, an alcove should be erected for that purpose.

On the 12th, at eight in the morning, the committee met, wherein I proposed to consult respecting an expedient to procure a suitable vessel, in which we might effect our escape as soon as the port should be open by the thawing of the ice. Mr. Wynbladth proposed to embrace the opportunity, when a vessel should be on the point of sailing, as the captain usually gives an entertainment the evening before, at which a part of our society might introduce themselves with a quantity of poisoned liquors, which might be administered before the close of the night, so that about midnight it would be easy to get possession of the vessel, after which, on a signal being given, the whole association might go on board, and force the crew to set sail without the least opposition. His advice was rejected.

Mr. Gourcsinin was of opinion, that we might make our escape with our boats, in which we might pass from one of the Kurelles islands to another, and thence to Japan, where we might meet with Dutch vessels, and gain a passage to Europe. His advice was not approved of. The difficulty of navigating these boats in the open sea was attended with evident danger of separation; besides which, in order to arrive at the establishment of the Dutch at Nangasaky, it would be necessary to sail round Japan, which was impracticable.

Mr. Panow declared that he would not presume to make any proposal on account of his ignorance in sea affairs, but referred entirely to me for information.

Mr. Baturin proposed to give the governor an entertainment on the pretended occasion of our approaching departure to Lopattka, to which we might invite all the principals of the town; and that in the middle of the night, we should seize and keep them as hostages until government consented to deliver a vessel to us. This proposition was likewise rejected, because compli-

cated in the execution; for as the garrison amounted to two hundred and forty soldiers, a number greatly superior to ours, it would always be in their power to force us to set the persons at liberty, whom we might have seized; besides which, as there were near seven hundred Cossacks in the town, it was not probable that so considerable a number of armed men would not interest themselves in a quarrel of this nature. Lastly, a difficulty equally insurmountable arose from the officers of the marine in the port, who might collect their sailors belonging to nine or eleven vessels then in the harbour, and render our escape impossible.

Messrs. Kuzneczow and Crustiew pressed for my opinion, which I stated by representing to the committee the inconveniencies annexed to the execution of the projects before proposed. I convinced them that every attempt by main force would be impracticable, and therefore not to be made, unless called for by the pressing situation of events. I avowed my readiness to sacrifice my life; but at the same time expressed my opinion that our affairs were not so desperate as that we should leave every thing to chance. I informed them that my wish was to take advantage of the departure of the packet St. Peter and St. Paul, which would be ready on the 15th of May, and was manned by only twenty-two sailors with five or six passengers. It was therefore my desire, that ten or twelve of our associates should engage as sailors on board this vessel, and that Mr. Kuzneczow, being a merchant, might agree with the captain for his passage, by which means it would be easy to engage the captain by promises and money to receive several bales of furs secretly in the night, on pretence of evading the duties. This arrangement would require the captain to sail out of the harbour in the evening, when it would be easy for us to board the vessel by the assistance of our boats, in which case we should find ourselves masters of the

vessel without any effusion of blood, as our number would exceed that of the crew four to one; after which we might send back the sailors and officers in our boats, and continue our voyage.

The end of our debate was, that my proposition was unanimously approved, and the committee charged Mr. Kuzneczow to select twelve associates, and procure them to be entered on board that vessel. In the evening the whole society assembled, and received the agreeable news that the measures for carrying our enterprize into execution were absolutely settled, without endangering the life or safety of any one. This declaration set every mind at ease. After which I acquainted the society that I thought it necessary to make a journey to Lopattka, in order to fix the public opinion respecting the establishment of our colony. The meeting approved my proposition, whereupon I nominated Messrs. Stephanow, Panow, Wynbladth, and six others, to accompany me.

On the 13th, I acquainted the governor, and also the chancellor and the hettman, with my intentions. The governor gave directions for supplying me with an order, that all the tajons, or chiefs of the villages of Kamchatka, should afford me the same assistance as would have been given to himself. Madame Nilow promised me provisions for the journey. The rest of the day was employed in preparing our sledges and refreshing the dogs.

## CHAPTER XIX

On the 14th, at seven in the morning, I departed with four sledges; we stopped at the governor's house to breakfast and take our leave. The governor's son and Miss Aphanasia accompanied us as far as Nichilova, where we dined with the tajon, and afterwards parted. I continued my route as far as Tsekawka, where we slept at the house of the tajon. Here we found a schaman, who called himself a sorcerer, and who according to the opinion of the natives had dealings with the devil. I was desirous of being a witness of the manners of these impostors, and therefore pressed the tajon to bring the schaman to me, that he might tell my fortune: the tajon accordingly used his endeavours to persuade him to gratify my expectations; and a present of six roubles secured his compliance. Here follows an account of the manner in which the sorcerers of Kamchatka exhibit their artifices:

He first caused all the women to go out of the yourth, after which he stripped himself entirely naked, and washed his whole body with his own urine. He then clothed himself in a long garment made of dogs skins, tanned; upon his head he placed a capuchin with two horns, and lastly he fastened a drum to his belt. Thus equipped he placed himself in the center of the yourth, turned round once, cried out, *kutti*, *kuttui*, *kutuchta*, and drew a bottle out of his budget, part of the contents of which he drank. He then threw him-

self on the ground, where he remained motionless for ten or fifteen minutes. At the expiration of this time he began to howl and cry, and soon after got up and beat the drum with all his might, and without any intermission, except at intervals to give more efficacy to his howlings. His motions were so violent that he screamed out with all his force, and at last his mouth, eyes, and all his limbs, became convulsed in a manner truly shocking to behold. When an hour had thus passed, during which he made every imaginable contortion, the schaman sat down on the ground, and began his prophecy with a hoarse and feeble voice. The following is what he said, word for word: "Thou "art come to demand thy fate of my spirit; he will "second thy efforts to avenge the death of the spirits "of our fathers, whom the Russians have cut off. It is "Kutuchta who is with thee. Thou shalt behold the "blood of thine enemies, thou shalt be happy in thy "voyage; but afterwards, when thou shalt spill blood "and thine own shall flow, thou shalt be dear to the "spirits of our fathers." After these words he fell asleep, and the tajon caused him to be carried into a separate yourth.

Upon my enquiry respecting the liquor this pretended sorcerer had drank, the tajon informed me that it was an infusion of muchomor, a kind of champignon, which has the power of intoxicating. He assured me that its force was such, that the schaman sometimes slept three or four days after it; whence I concluded that the muchomor produced effects similar to those of opium. As soon as this curious, though by no means agreeable, entertainment was over, I went to bed and slept comfortably.

On the 15th, we arrived at Kurinka, a village composed of eight yourths, where we staid till a storm was over, which every instant threatened to bury us beneath the snow.

On the 16th, we arrived at Compak, a village situated at the foot of the mountain Opala. The tajon of this place presented me with several pieces of copper ore, and some pieces of lapis lazuli.

On the 17th, I slept at Ozernaia, a village situated on the banks of a river of the same name, which flows into the lake Kurille.

On the 18th, we arrived at Tontina, a village of the Kurilles; the tajon received us cordially, and promised to accompany us in examining the whole country of Lopattka; but as we arrived very late and were greatly fatigued, we deferred the business to a future day.

On the 19th, the tajon presented his family to us, and made us an offer of his vessels to double the cape; for he assured us that the eastern part of Lopattka was more fertile than that which he inhabited; but as I had determined to conduct myself in such a manner as to convince government that I really designed to establish a colony, I proposed to travel inland towards the lake Kuil, and therefore requested the tajon to provide me with a guide. He offered his own services, and that of his sons; we therefore departed at nine in the morning, and arrived very late in the evening on the banks of the lake, after which we travelled to the eastward along its banks, and arrived at an habitation of the Kuilles, where we passed the night.

On the 20th, we directed our course toward the head of a small river which falls into the lake, and is nearly in the midway between cape Lopattka, and the lake itself. Here we had the good fortune to find a very agreeable plain; but as it was still covered with snow, I could not form any judgment respecting the soil. For this reason I contented myself with erecting several piquets, to denote the situation of the future town, and then I drew a plan of the place, with the intention of more effectually securing the good opinion of the governor and other principal inhabitants. From this

place we departed directly for Tontina, where we arrived in the evening.

On the morning of the 21st, after a short repose, I requested the tajon to furnish me with two baydars, in which, with a gentle breeze at north-west, I sailed round the cape in a very short time. The island Schoumtskoy being in sight, I determined to land on its north-west side, where I passed the night, because there was no wind, and I did not wish to fatigue the rowers.

On the 22d, I sailed to the island Poromusir; and as the wind began to draw round to the eastward, I determined to pass over to the island Anfigonone, commonly called Alaide. We quitted Poromusir at ten in the morning, and arrived at Alaide at three quarters after three, where we slept upon the snow, having no other bed than our bear's skins.

On the 23d, the beauty of the weather, with the wind in the south-west quarter, tempted me to return to Bolsha by sea; but as I had left my sledges and equipage with the tajon of Tontina, I resolved to send Mr. Panow thither in one of the boats, that he might return with our equipage to Bolsha. After his departure I set sail at eleven in the morning, and sailed north-east a quarter north, with a strong breeze, under which we made great way. About five in the evening we arrived at the entrance of Lopattka, where we got in with much difficulty, as we had the misfortune to run aground on the bar.

On the 24th, at four in the morning, we departed from Lopattka and sailed along shore until we arrived at the port of Bolsha at three in the afternoon, and came to an anchor at Tchekawka, a bay at the entrance of the port; for the river being frozen, we could not proceed further by water. Hence I sent to the tajon for sledges, and after making some presents to the Kurelles of Tontina, I departed for Bolsherezk,

at which place I arrived on the 25th, at three in the morning.

My return surprized Mr. Crustiew, who informed me, that the governor's lady had sent orders to the tajon of Nischilow, to inform her of my arrival, as she had determined to make a party of pleasure to meet me. But the news which gave me the greatest satisfaction was, that every thing was quiet, and no one any longer doubted the reality of our project. I then laid down to rest; but as I intended to surprize the governor, by appearing before him and presenting my plan, I gave orders to awake me at six in the morning, when I got up and sketched out my plan, with the situations of our gardens, which, on the whole, made a very pretty appearance. I finished my work at ten o'clock, and immediately waited upon the governor. The serjeant of the guard knew me at a distance, and carried the news to the governor and his whole family, whom I found on the draw-bridge. I was greatly affected at the manner in which they received me. The governor took me with him into his closet, and heard the account of my excursion; but upon the sight of my plan it was impossible to conceal his joy. He observed that the enterprize was really one of the most happy thoughts in the world, and said he had not the least doubt but her Imperial Majesty would give marks of her satisfaction on receiving the plan, together with his representation of the collateral circumstances. Full of this project, he sent for the chancellor and the hettman, to communicate his ideas to them; while in the mean time he sent me to give an account of my absence to his dear Aphanasia. This beautiful and lovely young lady received me with those transports which the candour and openness of her disposition did not permit her to conceal, and her respectable mother bore a share in her joy.

I was detained to dinner, and, during my stay, had

no leisure to reflect on the agitation of my mind. The different questions of the governor, the chancellor and the hettman, which required proper answers, afforded sufficient employment for my whole attention. But as soon as dinner was over I retired, on pretence of taking some repose, but was very far from being capable. For, on my return home, I could no longer support the anxiety which possessed my mind, and forced me to attend to an infinity of reflections that presented themselves. Every day brought the moment of the execution of my enterprize nearer. Gratitude, and the attachment I had formed to the governor's family, seemed to reproach me; for I clearly saw that my departure would be attended with the ruin of him, and all his family, because the court would attribute to him alone the crime of granting me the means of making my escape. These reflections were still further aggravated by the consideration that our enterprize, though well planned, might fail, and, in that case, no other expedient would remain than to attack and gain possession of the fort by surprize; an expedient which could not be carried into execution without risking the blood of those who had so greatly interested themselves in my welfare. It was evident that the governor, who had given me his confidence, and had honoured me with his friendship, was entitled to my most grateful returns; but, on the other hand, as the chief of a party, I should become perjured, and unworthy to live, if I should endanger or abandon the interests of the society.

Such were my reflections, which I communicated to Mr. Crustiew, a man of understanding and a sincere friend. After he had heard me, he embraced me, and assured me that, from the knowledge of my character, he had always been apprehensive of this crisis; that he was infinitely obliged to me for the confidence I had placed in him, and would speak his sentiments with freedom. He admitted, that the court would impute

my escape to the governor, if information should be given respecting the advantages he had afforded me; but that the chancellor and the hettman, being likewise concerned, there could be no doubt but they would draw up their report in such a manner that the court should know nothing of what the governor had done in my favour. For this reason, he observed, that I might dismiss my apprehensions; more especially as my obligations to the governor could not be put in competition with my duty to the society. Such, he said, was his opinion with respect to our future escape; but in case we should be obliged to act by open force, one or the other event must happen, either that we should all be put to the sword, or should become masters of the country. In which last case, it would be in my power to carry the governor with me by force, who, no doubt, would embrace this determination with pleasure, with a view of escaping from punishment and that, on our arrival in Europe, I should find means to shew my gratitude to him and his whole family.

These reasons, weak as they were, served to quiet my mind, and I perceived, that when the mind easily gives way to despair, it is as easily comforted. They who may read the present passage ought to beware of deciding either on my weakness or my fortitude. When Mr. Crustiew observed that my anxiety was removed, he proposed to assemble a committee, which I appointed to be held at eleven that evening.

## CHAPTER XX

The principal associates met, and Mr. Kuzneczow informed me, that he had succeeded in placing ten hunters and two natives of Kamchatka, on whom he could rely, among the crew of the packet St. Peter and St. Paul, and that he had likewise agreed with the captain for his passage to Ochoczk, as well as respecting the embarking and private conveyance of his merchandizes. This account of the advanced state of our affairs gave me the greatest satisfaction.

On the 26th, in the morning, I received an invitation for myself and friends from Madame Nilow, to attend her on an excursion in our sledges. We therefore waited on the governor, and set out with him and his family, accompanied by the chancellor and the hettman. At the distance of two leagues from the banks of the Bolsha, near its entrance, we stopped and examined some houses, newly and very neatly built in wood. After this inspection, the governess informed me, that they were designed for me and her daughter, observing, at the same time, that she thought it became her, as a mother, to give us houses and furniture, as her husband had given us land. The governor, who was till this instant unacquainted with his lady's undertaking, highly approved it, and ordered the chancellor to direct workmen to finish the building. Mr. Stephanow, who was present, and heard all that passed, could not avoid observing to Mr. Crustiew, that he saw very

clearly that I deceived him, and should deceive the whole society, after which words he went off with his sledge. Mr. Crustiew concealed this discourse from me, and only said, that he was obliged to go; immediately after which, he left us: so that I remained alone with Mr. Baturin, with whom I waited upon the governor home, and dined with his family.

After dinner, Mr. Sibeaw requested to speak with me, and informed me that it was absolutely necessary I should go home, as Mr. Stephanow had produced a dangerous riot. I sent him back with the assurance that I would come without delay; but as it was necessary that I should give some reason to the governor for my hasty departure, I told him in public, that I was informed Mr. Stephanow had again fallen into a state of phrenzy, which required my assistance. Miss Aphanasia said openly, that she knew his disorder, and was convinced it was not at all dangerous. It was to no purpose that I made signs to her to desist, as she took no notice, but directing herself to me: You are going, said she, to interest yourself in favour of an unhappy wretch, who wishes to deprive you of life; upon which she burst into tears. These words excited the governor's curiosity, who demanded an explanation; whereupon I gave him an undisguised account of my adventure and combat with Stephanow, not omitting to observe, that his enmity arose from his passion for Miss Aphanasia. Upon this information, the governor desired me to let him send him to prison, where he would contrive to render him a little wiser. I insisted, however, upon its being left in my power to imprison him at home, and, at the same time, represented the necessity of this act of authority for maintaining subordination among those who were destined to form the new colony. He therefore determined to grant me this right, and the chancellor added, that it was very proper that I should be permitted to exert my authority.

Seeing the governor in this disposition, I requested the concession of this power in writing, and accordingly the chancellor drew up an instrument, which the governor immediately signed.

These transactions prevented me from returning home as soon as I should otherwise have done. Upon my arrival, I found more than fifty soldiers or cossacks round our habitations, disputing with my companions. I was immediately informed that Mr. Stephanow, after a dispute with Mr. Crustiew, had called a soldier, who was in sight, and told him to run for assistance, for that otherwise I should put him to death, and that he had secrets to reveal to the chancery. The soldier had collected others, and several cossacks came to the assistance of Stephanow, who was already shut up by our companions. The soldiers insisted that he should be set at liberty, and at last attempted to force their way into our habitations, so that our companions were obliged to take arms to check their impetuosity. Upon this I enquired if any of the soldiers could read writing, and a corporal answered in the affirmative. I made this man read the concession of right, signed by the governor and the chancellor; after which he begged my pardon, and intreated that I would not inform the governor of what had passed. I promised him I would not, and thus the disturbance ended.

As soon as I came within doors, Mr. Crustiew informed me that he had luckily followed Mr. Stephanow, from a conviction that he was going to create some disturbance; but that as he did not overtake him till his arrival at his house, he took Messrs. Kuzneczow and Gourcsinin to accompany him. They all three entered Mr. Stephanow's house, whom they found busy writing. At sight of them he flew out into exclamations and threatenings too dangerous to be heard by strangers, and ended by declaring to them, that he would immediately go and discover the whole plot.

These circumstances evidently shewed how much this madman was to be feared. They attempted to seize him, but he proved strong enough to overthrow Mr. Crustiew and Mr. Gourcsinin, and, in spite of the efforts of Mr. Baturin, who held him fast, he had got out of the door, and excited the soldiers to assemble, in order to deliver him; for he told them, that the other exiles intended to poison him, and that he had secrets of treason to declare at the chancery. Mr. Crustiew proceeded to observe, that while the soldier ran to the town, they bound and gagged Stephanow, whom they shut up under guard; but a multitude being afterwards got together, and demanding the liberty of Stephanow, they saw themselves necessitated to take arms, while Sibeaw stood over the prisoner, with orders to put him to death, at the first report of any fire arms.

This relation put me in fear for the life of the unhappy wretch, for which reason I made haste to change the orders of Sibeaw; after which, fearing that the reports might reach the governor, I sent Mr. Crustiew, with instructions to inform him of what had passed, and then I gave orders to assemble the whole society.

We only waited the return of Mr. Crustiew to begin our proceedings, who at last arrived, and brought the good news, that the governor left me entirely master of the prisoner and his punishment; but that with regard to the assembling of the soldiers and cossacks, he would give orders that no person in future should dare to approach our quarters with the intention of committing violence, under pain of fifty strokes of the knout, and condemnation to the public works for three months.

This agreeable message was delivered to me by Mr. Crustiew in the full meeting, and as soon as he had taken his seat, I demanded their advice how to act with regard to Stephanow. The greater part were for

putting him to death, as a man capable of excesses which, sooner or later, would endanger the society; and insisted that it was better to save the lives of fifty-seven persons by sacrificing one single person, especially one who was a criminal. I could not, however, consent to this resolution, on account of my attachment for Mr. Panow, who was related to the prisoner, and was not then present. I therefore used every persuasion to induce them to defer the execution till his return; but the company appeared very unquiet, and pressed me to pass judgment upon him. I succeeded at last in calming their apprehensions by a stratagem. I proposed that Stephanow should be brought before us, be reproached by the whole company, and that sentence of death should afterwards be passed on him; but instead of arsenic and corrosive sublimate, I would only give him an emetic, the effects of which would lead him to believe his death near at hand. I assured the meeting that I was convinced that this crisis would produce his reformation, and that the instant would decide his fate, and convince him that life or death would depend on his repentance or perseverance in his criminal designs.

My proposal had its effect on the company. I therefore sent four armed associates for the prisoner, and in the mean while the dose of emetic was made up, consisting of three grains. On his arrival he appeared before us with some firmness, but at the sight of the goblet on the table, he turned pale. Before any question was proposed to him the order of the governor was read, and as he knew his hand-writing it was shewn to him, that he might believe the evidence. After this preliminary, I represented to him that his first misconduct indicated nothing more than malevolence against my person, and that therefore he had been pardoned; but the present case being of such a nature as to endanger the whole society, it was not in my

power to change the laws of the constitution, and consequently that I must deliver him to their judgment. Mr. Crustiew then displayed all his rhetoric to represent to this unhappy wretch his crimes, and his blindness to his own individual interest. His discourse threw the miserable Stephanow into tears, who confessed himself to be worthy of the greatest punishment. After this, each of the company bestowed some words of detestation on him, and as this ceremony lasted for some time, poor Stephanow fainted, and fell on the ground. By the application of spirit of sal ammoniac and vinegar, he was brought to himself. During the time of his insensibility, Mr. Crustiew drew out the sentence, to which he listened with the greatest anguish, but at the last words, which were "for these causes the "said Stephanow is condemned to drink the liquor "contained in the bowl, in order that death may "ensue," he fainted away a second time. Upon his recovery he asked to speak with me, which being granted, he intreated me to pardon his faults, and to deliver him, if possible, from this fatal judgment, promising that his life and blood should be employed in my service. He then openly declared, that this misfortune was, no doubt, a punishment from the hand of God, whom he had offended by attempting to contract a marriage, though he was already married to a wife then living in Russia. He proceeded to declare, that from that moment he abjured the madness of love, which had led him to the loss of his life in so disgraceful a manner. At length this unhappy man, being urged to drink the liquor, implored the grace and compassion of the company, but in vain, for they persisted in the execution of his judgment. Being thus convinced of the firmness of their resolution, he at last took the cup in his hand, but upon bringing it to his mouth, his courage again failed him, and he fell back into the arms of Sibeaw and Baturin, who held the cup.

On his recovery he wept bitterly, and again intreated the company to pardon him. The peculiar state in which I beheld him, moved me to compassion; and as there was reason to fear that the drink, though simply an emetic, might deprive him of life through apprehension, I interposed to obtain his pardon, which was granted, on condition that he should be kept a prisoner until our departure. He consented to this; but, as he was too much exhausted, the company did not press him to sign his submission. He had scarcely strength enough to thank me in a few words for my protection before he fainted again. I caused him to be taken to Mr. Crustiew, where he was bled by Mr. Meder; but this precaution did not preserve him from a violent illness, which seized him and kept him in his bed till the time of our departure. This incident having employed us almost the whole night, the meeting broke up a little before day.

On the 27th, I awoke very late, and was, by that means, prevented from waiting upon the governor in the morning, as I had promised. Miss Aphanasia came to see me, and reproached me for my neglect. She breakfasted with me, and Mr. Crustiew; after which she returned, happy in the information that I had nothing more to fear from Mr. Stephanow.

About noon, Mr. Panow came to me. This worthy associate having been informed of the interest I had taken in the safety of his relation, fell on my neck, and thanked me for my indulgence. He afterwards told me, that he knew that Stephanow had meditated the carrying off the governor's daughter, and had, for that purpose, connected himself with Ismailow and Boscarew, with six others, who were determined to quit Kamchatka, but that he had deferred advising me of the plot, because Ismailow and Boscarew had assured him, that they would not take any step without informing him of it. Mr. Panow recommended these

tion that I was convinced of the sincerity
repentance. Mr. Panow did not fail to expres
sense of his conduct, and advised him to sh
gratitude to me in future. We soon retired,
were not desirous of increasing his confusion
which we returned to my house where we spe
evening very agreeably.

## CHAPTER XXI

On the morning of the 28th, Mr. Kuzneczow requested to speak with me in secret, for which purpose I begged Messrs. Crustiew, Panow, and others, who were present, to retire. He then informed me that Mr. Csurin, commander of the Corvette St. Peter and St. Paul, had acquainted him, that he was unwilling to return to Ochoczk, because of his debts, and for fear of the consequences of a process then against him in the Admiralty court, the issue of which, if it should turn against him might condemn him to the mines. He would not, therefore, consent to make the voyage but on condition that Mr. Kuzneczow would find security to the amount of three thousand roubles, and would promise to obtain leave of the Admiralty that he might take the command of a merchant vessel. Mr. Kuzneczow observed that this overture had entirely disconcerted his project, as he could not depend on the compliance of another captain, in case Mr. Csurin should give up the command. This account at first alarmed me, but, upon serious reflection on the situation of Mr. Csurin, I perceived some reason to hope that it would forward the project of gaining him over to my interests. I immediately communicated my ideas to Mr. Kuzneczow, who thought them very well founded; but he objected that Csurin was so strongly attached to a girl at Kamchatka, that he never would consent to go without

her: I removed this last difficulty, by observing that he might carry the girl with him, to which Mr. Kuzneczow could make no objection.

As it was my wish to become acquainted with the sentiments of Mr. Csurin by personal conversation, I directed Mr. Kuzneczow to bring him to me, and to promise, in general terms, that he would do every thing that might be necessary to render him the services he required. When Mr. Kuzneczow was gone, I rejoined Mr. Crustiew, who was in company with several of our associates. I freely told them what I had heard, and the resolution I had adopted; but I found them strongly persuaded that I should not succeed in the attempt.

After dinner, Mr. Kuzneczow arrived, and informed me of the approaching visit of Mr. Csurin; I therefore went home and had just time to order tea before he came. He made a thousand excuses on his arrival for the liberty he had taken of waiting on me, and requested to know if I had any commissions for Ochoczk, as he, being the commander of the St. Peter and St. Paul, would gladly take charge of them, and I might depend on his diligence.

On this offer I replied, that as it was my intention to import some provisions and other articles for the use of my colony, I would avail myself of his kind offer to put a couple of thousand piastres, into his hands, that he might convert them into such articles of merchandize as I should direct. To this I added, that if it was in my power to render him any services he need only speak, as I knew the gentlemen of the sea were obliged to engage in certain indirect business to enable them to support the charges which were necessary to maintain their situation with credit. I hoped therefore that he would not be offended at the offer of a sum for that purpose.

The open and undesigning manner in which I made

this offer, appeared to affect him, and his manner convinced me that I should have no difficulty in settling my business with him. Our discourse was interrupted by the appearance of tea, but we resumed it as soon as the table was cleared. He began by informing me of the subject of the process he had at the Admiralty, the cause of which was as follows.

Captain Lewascheff had commenced a process against Mr. Csurin, for exciting a mutiny among the crew of the ship St. Ecatherina, in the expedition of the year 1769. Several sailors deposed that Mr. Csurin was the cause of the oversetting of the boat in the middle of the river Bolsha, in which Captain Kreniczin then was; and, as the captain was drowned by this accident, the process had been instituted criminally against Csurin. His explanation of the affair afforded ample matter to enable me to convince him that he would certainly be condemned. My reasons appeared to be so well founded, that he declared he would pretend illness, in order to avoid commanding the vessel. This decision reduced me to the necessity of forcing his second retrenchment, which I did, by representing that his delaying his departure would not save him; because, doubtless, when the council saw that he was determined not to return, they would require the governor of Kamchatka to send him under guard, so that by this manœuvre, he would gain only a few months delay; after which the confusion of his affairs would be still greater than before. He admitted the truth of this remark, and entreated me to send him to my new colony, or, at least, to favour his procuring a passage to the Aleuthes islands, where he would finish the rest of his unfortunate life. As he said these last words he burst into tears, and said, that he could give up his life and fortune without regret, but that his affection for a young person with whom he lived, was such, that he could not bear the thoughts of leaving her.

After this confession, he begged me to have pity on his situation, and grant him my protection and advice. I promised to reflect seriously on his affairs, but observed, that it would require some time to consider maturely what was best to be done. I gave him my word, however, that I would clear him of his embarrassment; but at the same time, as a previous condition, I insisted that he should not mention his situation to any one, nor think of quitting the command of the vessel. He swore that he would comply with my directions, and thus we parted. But as I thought it necessary to interest his mind by some immediate advantages, I called him back, to put a bag of five hundred roubles into his hands, with the compliment, that I begged him to accept of this advance to purchase a present for his lady. He refused at first, but I forced him to accept the present by declaring, that, if he persisted in his refusal, I should not believe he was really attached to my interests. He therefore accepted my present, and I was delighted at having made so good a bargain.

On my return to Mr. Crustiew, I informed the society of the good disposition of my client, and they were not a little astonished at the rapidity of my proceedings. In consequence of which, they determined no more to oppose my decisions in future, but wait, with patience and calmness, for the result. I assured them of my readiness to perform my part, and promised to neglect nothing to secure the success of my plan with the most scrupulous attention. I observed, that by this management, steadily adhered to, the moment of execution would be naturally easy, provided we were not forced to precipitate our measures, in consequence of treachery from our own associates, or a discovery on the part of government.

This last reflection induced Mr. Panow to request that I would at least communicate to the society the plan I should adopt, in case we should be discovered or

attacked when we least expected it. To this positive question I thought proper to answer, that my resolution would depend on circumstances, and the measures taken by Government; so that it was impossible, at this moment, to fix my determination. But in the mean time I exhorted the society not to be alarmed at the crisis, which might surprize us, but to confirm themselves in the resolution of dying with courage. I likewise added, that to prevent any surprize, I had secured means of receiving positive advice respecting every step which Government might take against me; and that, provided we could have one night beforehand, I would answer for the possession of the fort and garrison; after which I was convinced the town could not hold out, because it stood exposed in every part to the cannon of the fortress.

This answer satisfied Mr. Panow; but it gave rise to a longer conference, wherein every one spoke his thoughts, and the whole society unanimously repeated their professions of strict obedience at the critical moment.

I left the company, and proceeded to pass the evening at the governor's house, where I was received like one of the family; and, after passing the evening very agreeably, I returned home about midnight.

On the 29th, I was busied with Mr. Meder, in making three petards, to be used in case circumstances should require the gates of the fortress or the chancery to be forced open. During this work I reflected on the business of Mr. Csurin, and digested my plan; for which reason I sent to desire to see him in the evening. Before dinner I visited Mr. Stephanow, whose fever had increased the preceding day. I found him tolerably easy. He made many apologies for his attempts against my person, and appeared to repent sincerely of what he had done. I therefore endeavoured to raise his spirits, by assuring him, that it would always be in his power

to preserve my esteem and friendship, as long as he avoided a repetition of his offences. His reply consisted of reiterated professions of amendment in his future conduct, which confirmed the good opinion I had formed of him.

After dinner I returned home, where I waited the arrival of Mr. Csurin, who came at five o'clock. He began the conversation with promises and assurances of his devotion to my service, and concluded, by requesting to know what I had settled respecting him; to which I answered,

1. That I required him to retain the command of the packet, and to conform exactly to the arrangement he had made with Mr. Kuzneczow.

2. That at his departure I would let him know what he had to do, but that at present I should only inform him that Mr. Kuzneczow would manage matters so, that the second day after his departure the ship should spring a leak, which would afford a sufficient reason for coming to an anchor, which he might do at Lopattka. In the mean time I promised to obtain the Governor's permission that he might be permitted to establish himself among us. I observed that this appeared to me to be the only honourable method of avoiding the voyage to Ochoczk; and further, with regard to his establishment and future marriage with the young lady in question, I promised him two thousand roubles, and the place of captain of the military.

My proposal pleased him, and he bound himself, by oath, to conform strictly to every particular. He even offered to sign an engagement to that effect, which he confirmed by oath. This affair being finished, I dismissed him, and hastened to call a committee, to communicate the news of my success; and as I thought it very necessary not to lose sight of Mr. Csurin, I charged Mr. Kuzneczow to connect himself with him, and not to leave his company.

## CHAPTER XXII

On the 30th Mr. Crustiew and Mr. Panow, at the head of twenty-five of our associates, were deputed to wait on the governor, with a request that he would please to receive the title of Protector of the new colony. They were likewise charged to wait on the chancellor and the hettman, with a similar request that they would accept other titles relative to the colony; and, in the last place, they were to present a memorial to the magistrates of the town, to request their assistance and support in favour of the new colony, which was to bear the name of Nilovaga, in honour of the governor. They performed their commission, and returned with the news, that they had met with an agreeable reception from all the gentlemen on whom they had been directed to wait.

On the 31st I received a message from the magistrates of the town, informing me that they had favourably received my memorial, and that, in consequence of the utility and services which the capital expected from our industry and attachment, they had sent us an aggregation to the rights of citizens of Bolsharezk for all the children which should be born in the new colony. After I had made the messenger a present, I communicated our good fortune to the company, which was greatly amused at this comedy of my composing.

April the 1st. As I knew that the vessels employed between Ochoczk and Kamchatka usually took no larger

stock of water than ten or twelve butts, I ordered Mr. Solmanow to purchase twenty or twenty-five butts, and carry them to Csekawka, after getting them put in order, under pretence of applying them to the manufacture of salt from sea water. About ten o'clock this day I received a message from Miss Nilow, that she would call on me in the afternoon, requesting at the same time that I would be alone, because she had affairs of importance to communicate. As I supposed the latter part of this message to be mere pleasantry, I was far from expecting any extraordinary information; and my surprize at the event was much greater, as I had not the least reason to suppose she had made any discovery of my intentions. Miss Nilow arrived at three in the afternoon; her agitation on her first appearance convinced me that she was exceedingly afflicted. At sight of me she paused a moment, and soon after burst into tears, and threw herself into my arms, crying out, that she was unfortunate and forsaken. Her sighs and tears were so extreme that it was more than a quarter of an hour before I could obtain a connected sentence. I was extremely affected at her situation, and used every expedient to calm her mind, but this was extremely difficult, because I was entirely ignorant of the reason of her affliction.

As soon as she became a little composed, she begged me to shut the door, that no one might interrupt us. I came back, and on my knees entreated her to explain the cause of her present situation, which she did to the following effect:

She informed me that her maid discovered to her, that a certain person, named Ivan Kudrin, one of my associates, had proposed to her to share his fortune, and that this indiscreet person had assured the girl, that he was about to quit Kamchatka with me, to make a voyage to Europe, where he hoped to place her in an agreeable situation. The maid had first related the

circumstance to her mistress, but, as she could never believe me capable of such base and treacherous behaviour to her, she was desirous of hearing the account herself, and had, for that purpose, persuaded the servant to appoint a meeting with Kudrin, in order to question him more amply, while she herself might hear the whole, by being concealed behind a curtain. In this manner, she said, she became convinced of her unhappiness and my treachery, and that she would have spared me the confusion of hearing this, if, from a conviction that she could not live after such an affront, she had not been desirous of bidding me a last farewell.

On finishing these words she fainted; and though I was exceedingly alarmed and distressed on the occasion, yet I did not fail to arrange a plan in my mind, during the interval of her insensibility. When this amiable young lady recovered, she asked if she might give credit to what she had heard. I then threw myself at her feet, and intreated her to hear me calmly, and judge whether I was to blame or not. She promised she would, and I addressed her in the following terms.

"You may recollect, my dear friend, the account I gave you of my birth, and the rank I held in Europe: I remember the tears you shed on that occasion. The misfortune of being exiled to Kamchatka, would long since have compelled me to deliver myself from tyranny, by death, if your acquaintance and attachment had not preserved me. I have lived for you, and if you could read my heart, I am sure I should have your pity; for the possession of your person is become as necessary to my existence as liberty itself. The liberty I speak of, is not that which your worthy father has given me, but implies the possession of my estate and rank. I have hoped for the possession of your person, with a view of rendering you happy, in the participation of my fortune and dignity. These views cannot be accomplished at Kamchatka. What rank can I bestow

on my love but that of an exile? The favours of your worthy father may be of the shortest duration. His successor may soon recall his ordinances, and plunge me again into that state of suffering and contempt, from which I was delivered for a short moment. Represent to yourself, my dearest friend, the affliction and despair that would overwhelm my soul, when I beheld you a sharer in my pain and disgrace; for you well know, that all the Russians esteem the exiles as dishonoured persons. You have forced me to this declaration of my intentions, in which I have been guided by the attachment and sincerity of my heart. I deferred the communication to you, but I swear that such was my resolution.—Why then interrupted she, did you conceal your intention from me, who am ready to follow you to the farthest limits of the universe?—This assurance encouraged me to proceed, and engage this charming young lady in my interests. I told her, therefore, that I was prevented only by the fear lest she should refuse my proposals, on account of her attachment to her parents; but that, as I now had nothing to fear in that respect, I could inform her, that my intention being to leave Kamchatka, I had determined to carry her off; and in order to convince her, I was ready to call Mr. Crustiew, who would confirm the truth. On this assurance she embraced me, and intreated me to forgive her want of confidence, at the same time that she declared her readiness to accompany me.

This degree of confidential intercourse being established, I persuaded her to dismiss every fear from her mind. Many were the trials I made of her resolution, and the event convinced me, that she was perfectly determined to follow my fortunes. The secret being thus secure, by her promise to keep it inviolably, I had no other uneasiness remaining but what arose from the communication having been made to her servant. I mentioned my fears to Miss Nilow, who removed them,

by assuring me that her servant was too much attached to her to betray her secret; and had, besides, an affection for Kudrin, so that she could answer for her discretion. Thus agreeably ended our conversation, though the commencement was rather tragical; and I received the vows of attachment and fidelity from an artless and innocent mind.

Miss Nilow did not depart till about six o'clock. I immediately sent for Kudrin, whom I reproached for his misconduct and indiscretion, by explaining the great danger to which he had exposed the whole society. I promised at the same time not to divulge his fault to the society; but insisted that he should in future avoid all farther explanation of the state of our affairs to the young woman. I likewise promised, in order to calm his uneasiness, that I would contrive matters so that he should take her with him. This poor wretch, on my first accusation, was seized with the most terrifying apprehensions, and fell to the ground at my feet, crying out for mercy, as he supposed I should deliver him up to the judgment of the society, from whom he had nothing to expect but death. But, on my conclusion, he arose, kissed my hand, and swore eternal fidelity. For my part, I was very well satisfied to have extricated myself out of such a disagreeable embarrassment, by settling affairs on so good a footing.

After the departure of Kudrin, I went to Mr. Crustiew, who, being apprized in the morning, of Miss Nilow's intended visit, and seeing me come out so late, thought proper to rally me upon the occasion. But his hilarity soon gave place to astonishment, when he heard what had passed. He was persuaded, he said, that I must have been born under a happy influence, and that nothing could fail us under such auspices. I laughed at his enthusiasm, though I was truly sensible of that good fortune which had removed so many unpleasant incidents.

On the 2d, Madame Nilow invited me to breakfast, and took me apart to enquire what I had done to her daughter, who used to be exceedingly in spirits at her return home, but had, since yesterday evening, been continually in tears. It was difficult to answer this home question; to which I could at first make no better reply than by saying, that Miss Nilow had imparted a secret to me, that related to herself alone, and was communicated under the seal of confidence, which I could not infringe. Madame Nilow laughed at this excuse, and afterwards ordered her daughter to be called, whom she required to release me from the injunction of secrecy, that I might be at liberty to relate what had passed between us yesterday; to which she answered, that she would entirely rely on my prudence, and that if I thought it necessary I was at liberty to speak, though she would be present, to know whether I spoke the truth. I then related that some person, with a view to injure me in Miss Aphanasia's opinion, had informed her that I was not of the Greek religion, and persuaded her to ask me to become of that faith: that she had accordingly made the proposal to me two days ago, to which I answered, that though, in my opinion, all religions were alike, I could not consent to make any change in mine; and upon her observing, that my determination might prevent our marriage, I replied, that then we should die without reproach, she was vexed, and our friendly intercourses had suffered a slight interruption, till a second opportunity for explanation offered itself. I added, that in our last conversation I had expressed my hope that Miss Aphanasia would in future put less confidence in advisers. Madame Nilow, after having patiently heard my account, blamed her daughter for presuming to meddle in affairs of religion; and said, she hoped her prudence in future would prevent her going into any such extravagancies. She then retired, and left us at

liberty. I embraced the opportunity to confirm the young lady in her resolution; and she assured me that I might remain perfectly easy with regard to her maid, who was as desirous as herself to see us safe in Europe. We finished our conversation on the happiness we should enjoy when at perfect liberty. After which I retired, and ordered a general meeting to be held on the 5th. I then visited Mr. Stephanow, whom I found under the application of blisters, having been in a continual delirium for three days and nights.

## CHAPTER XXIII

On the 3d of April, Mr. Solmanow purchased twenty-two butts, and forwarded them to Tsekawka. Mr. Kuzneczow likewise advised me, that he had purchased a cask of brandy for seven hundred and eight roubles, which I immediately paid. Messrs. Baturin and Wynbladth, who were commissioned to salt fish, also informed me, that they had prepared two casks of fish, and one cask of whale oil; but they could procure no more than four hundred and fifty pounds of flour.

On the 4th, Mr. Kuzneczow informed me that Mr. Csurin was going on board to set the ship to rights; and consequently those of our associates who were engaged in the vessel must be ready to depart on the 7th; and that in order to overlook the transactions of Mr. Csurin, he had determined likewise to go on board himself. I agreed to his proposal, earnestly advising him to exert every attention to promote the business intrusted to him; but at the same time to hold himself in readiness to return at the first call. And, in order that our correspondence might be rendered more certain, I commissioned him to station a trusty native of Kamchatka at Mikutka, to carry my advices and orders to him. I was informed in the evening that the governor was indisposed.

On the 5th, I put off the meeting till the evening, on account of the necessity of visiting the governor. On

ny arrival at the fort I found the whole family greatly afflicted, and the governor very ill with a violent cholic. I gave him a little extract of aloes with brandy, and had the pleasure to see him able to walk about by noon. He thanked me for my assistance, and begged I would give him a provision of the medicine which had done him so much service. I refused staying to dinner, and returned home; after which the general meeting was held, where I gave the society an account of the measures I had taken to secure the vessel St. Peter and St. Paul; but I thought it likewise necessary to express to the meeting my fears of some unfortunate accident. For this reason I required that no one in future would go into the town without a companion, and that they would not haunt public houses, where several disputes had arisen between the soldiers of the garrison or cossacks, and my people. I observed that the moment of the execution of our project was nearly approaching, for which reason it was of the utmost consequence to avoid every misunderstanding, and to be upon our guard. I therefore exhorted them to remain peaceably in their houses, and always near the chiefs which I had nominated, in order that they might come together in case of any unforeseen accident, and be in readiness to obey my orders. The whole company unanimously replied, that they would strictly obey my orders, and that I might depend on their fidelity. Their readiness gave me much satisfaction: I thanked them for their confidence in me, and regaled them with a large quantity of punch, the disposal of which employed the company till four in the morning.

On the 6th, I remained at home the whole day, at rest, except in the evening, when I made a visit to the governor. On the 7th, Mr. Kuzneczow took his leave with ten of our companions. This day Mr. Baturin informed me, that Ismailow, Boscarew, and Zablikow had proposed a number of questions to him concerning

the new colony; and that he overheard Ismailow whisper Boscarew, "we shall get nothing out of him, for he is "Samuelovicz's friend, let us go to the others;" from which he suspected that these three men had received some information of our project. From this account I recollected, that Mr. Stephanow had been connected with these persons, and might have informed them of some of the particulars: I therefore went immediately to him, but he was not in a situation to answer any questions. Nothing therefore remained to be done, but to apply to Mr. Panow, whom I ordered to enquire for one of the three, and sound his intentions, that I might take my measures in time.

Mr. Crustiew, when informed of this business, appeared very uneasy, which was a circumstance unusual in him, as he was a man of courage, and possessed great firmness of mind. After reflecting a short time, he told me, that he thought he should be able to sift the business to the bottom; but that there was reason to fear a discovery on the part of government which we could not avoid, supposing his ideas to be true; for he told me that Ismailow was related to the chancellor, and possessed his confidence. The strong marks of apprehension which I saw in Mr. Crustiew, obliged me to request his thoughts concerning the information of Baturin. He replied, that he was fearful of an intrigue among women; and said he was assured that it was Mr. Kuzneczow's intention to carry with him the sister of Serjeant Kuzmin; and that probably he had divulged the secret to that woman. On the other hand, he was convinced that Mr. Ismailow likewise kept company with the same person, whence he inferred, that Ismailow had got some hints of our project, which led him to endeavour at a more perfect discovery.

Mr. Crustiew promised that he would use every exertion in his power to come at the truth by means of the woman, and advised me, in the mean time, to wait on

the chancellor, and observe his behaviour, from which I might easily know whether his nephew had already spoken to him concerning his discovery.

These steps appearing reasonable, I determined immediately to wait on the chancellor, while Mr. Crustiew was employed in making his enquiries. On my arrival the chancellor received me with more politeness, but less cordiality, than usual. He ordered tea, and, during the time it was preparing, our discourse turned first on the government, in which the chancellor repeated all the advantages I had received from the chiefs, in forwarding my projects; and twice said that he hoped my zeal and conduct would justify their opinions and proceedings. In answer to his discourse, I replied, that I was greatly affected with the marks of goodness I had received, and should neglect no favourable occasion of shewing my gratitude. After a short pause, the chancellor asked me how far I was connected with Kuzneczow. I answered, that Mr. Kuzneczow having rendered me essential services at my first arrival at Kamchatka, when I was in the lowest state of indigence, I thought it proper to acknowledge his good offices, at a time when I was at my ease. He replied, that he hoped my motives were such as I expressed, but that he could not help taking notice that various reflections were made in the town concerning our intimacy; more particularly since Mr. Kuzneczow had been seen openly assisting the exiles, with a musket in his hand, at the time of their dispute with the soldiers and cossacks, respecting Mr. Stephanow.

This overture sufficiently shewed, that Mr. Ismailow had related his suspicions or perhaps discoveries to his uncle, for which reason I determined to clear the way by one effectual stroke. I therefore replied, that I saw clearly from whence this prejudice against Mr. Kuznezow arose. I informed the chancellor, that Kuzneczow and his nephew kept company with the same woman,

whom I named, being the sister of Serjeant Kuzmin; and observed, that jealousy had dictated this expedient to his nephew, with a view to prejudice his rival. I assured him that, with regard to myself, I was happy in the present opportunity of speaking my sentiments to him, as my benefactor. I admitted, that it might be very convenient, and not unbecoming Mr. Kuzneczow, to frequent the company of a common woman, though such a proceeding would very ill become his nephew, who enjoyed a distinguished rank. But what more particularly mortified my feelings in this business was, that I understood it to be the intention of his nephew to marry the girl; for which reason I had disposed Mr. Kuzneczow to persuade her to make a voyage with him to Ochoczk, where they were to be married. I ended my speech by observing, that I should have concealed this proof of my personal attachment to him, if there had not been reason to fear that silence, at this moment, might impair his friendship for me.

The chancellor listened very attentively, paused a moment, and then embraced me, saying, that if I had not come he might have taken a very dangerous step. He then informed me, that his nephew had constantly repeated to him for some days past, that he was certain Kuzneczow and myself intended to leave Kamchatka, and take some women with us; adding, that he was sure of our plot, but would come at the bottom of it by new inquiries. The chancellor proceeded to say, that, from the reiterated observations of his nephew, he had determined to send for Mr. Stephanow, and examine him; but that he now considered my arrival as a happy circumstance, since it had spared him the confusion of intimating his suspicions of me. My account, he said, had opened his eyes, and shewn him the necessity of regulating the conduct of his nephew.

Affairs being in this favourable train, I begged him to enquire of Captain Csurin whether it were not true

at Kuzneczow intended to sail with him to Ochoczk, d whether he had not contracted for the passage of a dy.

The chancellor immediately sent for Csurin, and after ceiving the confirmation of what I had said from him, e promised me a complete satisfaction on the part of is nephew.

## CHAPTER XXIV

I WAS exceedingly happy in having remedied an affair of such a desperate nature, and hastened home, where I found Mr. Crustiew in the utmost uneasiness. He could not contain his anger at seeing me laugh; but began by informing me, that he was certain that the chancellor had received information concerning us, and was now busied in disclosing our projects to the government: for the sister of Kuzmin had informed him, that Mr. Ismailow had listened to her discourse with Kuzneczow, under her window; in which he had promised to marry her, if she would consent to go with him to Europe; observing, that the voyage would be long, but that he would make her amends by his love and fidelity. Upon which proposal she had demanded, how he supposed it would be in his power to sail to Europe; and Kuzneczow replied, that there was no reason to be uneasy about the success of any undertaking when directed by such chiefs as myself. She protested that Mr. Kuzneczow had said nothing more; but that, after his departure Ismailow entered, and insulted her, and directly afterwards went out, threatening to send Kuzneczow to the mines. She likewise told Mr. Crustiew that she had avoided speaking to Mr. Kuzneczow on the business, for fear of a quarrel.

Upon this intelligence I desired my friend to go immediately to the girl, and direct her to say, if she

should be sent for by the chancellor, that Mr. Kuzneczow had proposed and agreed with her to go to Ochoczk, where they were to be married, and that I had promised her a marriage portion of a thousand roubles, provided she would depart and avoid the visits of Mr. Ismailow. Mr. Crustiew was perfectly astonished at this message, and asked if I thought him out of his senses. I saw that he did not comprehend my intentions, and therefore gave him an account of my conversation with the chancellor, upon which he perfectly understood the whole business, and hastened to execute my commission. For my part, as Mr. Kuzneczow was not yet gone, I sent for him, and gave him instructions likewise, in case he should be questioned by the chancellor. These measures being taken, I found my mind more at ease, and went to rest late at night, for I had found it impossible to take any repose during the continuance of my apprehensions.

On the 8th, I learned that the chancellor had examined Kuzneczow and the sister of Kuzmin separately, and at day-break had sent his nephew to Verchney Ostrogg, with orders not to return to Bolsaretz without his consent. In the evening the chancellor himself came to me, made a thousand excuses for his suspicions, and begged me to accept the portion I had promised the girl, which, however, I refused, at the same time intreating him to excuse my taking it, as a proof of his confidence in my good intentions.

On the 9th, Mr. Kuzneczow informed me of his departure, and assured me that I might entirely depend on Mr. Csurin. This news was some consolation to me; for though the chancellor was apparently reconciled, I could no longer depend on his confidence. I knew that inquisitive disposition would not permit him to banish the adventure of his nephew from his mind; and as the slightest appearances might revive his suspicions, I thought it proper to keep my people constantly

assembled. With a view likewise to secure myself against any surprize, I engaged Miss Nilow to pay a strict attention to everything that passed at the governor's house, especially when the chancellor was present.

The same day I assembled the company, to whom I gave an account of all that had passed between me and the chancellor, and declared, that though all our measures were perfectly well established, I was morally sure that they would be ineffectual, because I had every reason to think that we should be discovered before the time of the departure of the vessel. In consequence of this discouraging prospect, I said that I should proceed to propose to the company another regulation. The meeting unanimously assured me, that they would agree to every step which I should think proper to be taken, so that I needed only to give my orders, which would be immediately complied with. On this declaration, which was so full of confidence, I represented to them that it would be impossible for us to resist the force which government might employ against us, if we remained near the town, and, therefore that on the first intimation of a discovery, I should propose to the company to retire to the sea-side, where we might defend ourselves in the intrenchment of the light-house, which was provided with four large pieces of cannon, which would be sufficient to keep the assailants at a distance; and, in the mean time, as I could depend on Mr. Csurin, I would direct him to bring the vessel out of the bay, by towing her through the ice, and that I did not despair of carrying this project into execution in the course of eight days.

The company replied, that this step was salutary, and necessary to be carried into execution. I therefore drew up instructions for Mr. Kuzneczow, which I forwarded to him by the hands of Sibeaw, at the same time that I directed Mr. Panow to distribute money to several of

ciates, to purchase gunpowder in all the shops, ossible, at the great magazine. For I had been l that the cannon of the redoubt of the light- as well provided with bullets and grape shot, the quantity of powder was insufficient to fire

I passed the rest of the day with Mr. Crus- conference on the means necessary to be adopted esent exigence of our circumstances.

## CHAPTER XXV

On the 10th, Mr. Baturin informed me, that Boscarew and Zablikow had written a letter to Mr. Stephanow, which was to be put into his hands by a Kamchadal woman. I immediately sent notice to Mr. Panow, who undertook to watch his relation, to whom he went without delay, and returned with the letter, which he said had been delivered the instant before by the woman, and that after reading it, Stephanow had said, "I am "the unhappy wretch who has produced all the mis- "chief which may follow;" and then intreated his relation to carry the letter to me, with a request that I would cause these two men to be put to death, in order to preserve our secret: for he confessed he had revealed the greatest part of it to them. The contents of the letter were as follows:

"The treatment you have experienced from the un- "worthy chief whom you have chosen, has excited our "compassion. We are informed that your illness is not "real, but that you are a prisoner, and, we therefore "take this opportunity of assuring you, that we are "ready to deliver you, and that you may depend on "our willingness to sacrifice our lives in the attempt. "The oath we entered into with you has prevented us "from betraying your abominable chief; besides which, "we were unwilling to be the authors of the destruction "of so many brave men as have entered into the as-

" sociation. If your life be in safety, send us some " intimation, and inform us at what hour of the night " we can enter your prison without being discovered; " but if you think it proper for our interests, that we " should deliver you from the tyrant, let us know your " wish, and his death is certain. Remember the engage- " ments you have entered into with us, and be assured " of our fidelity.

" Signed, BOSCAREW and ZABLIKOW."

I read this letter in the presence of some of the associates, to their no small consternation. Several of them were desirous of going to seek these two bravos, with whom they proposed to quarrel, and then dispatch them. Mr. Panow supported this opinion; but, for my part, I declared that I could not, without regret, consent to be the cause of the death of two such determined young men, especially as I had reason to think we might avail ourselves of their services. For this purpose I proposed that Mr. Panow should persuade his relation to send them an answer, which I would draw up; as I was well assured that we might cause them to join us by this means, provided Mr. Stephanow consented to assist. Mr. Panow answered for him, whereupon I drew up the following minute:

" You will be convinced that my illness is real when " you see my hand-writing. I have kept my bed from " the day I last saw you. I thank you, my friends, for " the assistance you offer, though it is unnecessary; for, " I can assure you, that my whole consolation at present " consists in the acknowledgment of my improper con- " duct towards my chief. You hate him, because I have " described him to you as a man worthy of hatred; but, " I earnestly intreat you, by the oath we have entered " into, not to aggravate my remorse, by making any " attempt against this worthy and respectable chief. " I thought him my enemy, and acted accordingly; I

" even sought his death. Doubtless you have concluded " that he would revenge himself; but, on the contrary, " he has declared himself my protector, and has pre- " served my life at the risk of his own. It is to him I " am indebted for my safety, and I intreat you to " respect the protector as your friend. I have written " this letter, to prevent the consequences of your im- " petuosity; hasten then to me, that I may inform you " concerning my situation. You are at perfect liberty " to come, and I flatter myself that, on an interview, I " shall render you an essential service, by bringing you " acquainted with a man to whom you may unite."

This answer being approved of, Mr. Panow carried it to his relation, who copied it, and sent it back by the messenger who had brought him the letter. About eleven in the evening Mr. Panow requested me to come to his friend, who was desirous of introducing Messrs. Boscarew and Zablikow to me, with six other associates. When I arrived Mr. Stephanow begged me to come near his bed, took my hand and kissed it. He then proceeded to recapitulate all his faults, enumerated the marks of kindness and confidence he had received, and concluded, by intreating my forgiveness; after which, without giving me time to reply, he presented Messrs. Boscarew and Zablikow to me, with their companions; with the assurance that they desired to join our association, and that he could answer for their fidelity and attachment. On this offer I asked the gentlemen whether they were firmly resolved to enter into our society without being informed of our projects and measures? To which they answered, that they had been informed of every thing, and were determined to acknowledge me as their chief, from their knowledge of the inducements. After this short explanation I informed them, that I would expect them at three o'clock to-morrow, in order to proceed in their reception. But as they requested I would permit them to remain in

future with us, I consented that they should stay all night; for they protested that they would not quit our dwelling till they were admitted members of the society.

On the 11th, I visited the governor, who seemed to be meditating on some subject that occupied his attention, and as it was of consequence for me to become acquainted with the reason of his serious deportment, I enquired, and received for answer, that he believed the chancellor was out of his senses, because he had been talking to him of an enterprize purely chimerical; for, continued he, the fool suspects you of an intention to desert, and has vexed me so much, that I have sent him away in an ill humour: he has even dared to accuse my daughter of being a party in your plot. I answered, laughing, that I was very well acquainted with the weakness of the chancellor, who though a worthy character, had suffered himself to be led by his nephew Ismailow, a man jealous of my good fortune, and at enmity with one of my friends, Kuzneczow. I informed the governor, that Ismailow had composed a fiction, which had turned the chancellor's head; and then, without hesitation, I related all that had happened. My story put the governor into a chearful humour. He sent for the chancellor, who was surprized to find me seated with the governor. The latter began the conversation by acquainting him that he had informed me the whole of the chancellor's suspicions; and that, on the other hand, I had acquainted him with all that had passed between us. The chancellor seemed to pay very little attention to this, but told me flatly that I was guilty, and that he repented the indulgence he had shewn me in regard to time; but as he was so lucky as to find me in a place of surety, he should exhibit his proofs, and had no doubt but they would be sufficient to induce the governor to send me to prison. He then drew out of his pocket a letter from his nephew,

which contained a confirmation of his first accusation, and an appeal to Messrs. Boscarew and Zablikow, which, when he had read, he demanded of the governor whether he had reason or no to accuse me. The governor seemed to hesitate; but I seized the moment to propose, that those two witnesses might be sent for, and promised that I would own myself guilty, if they could prove the least delinquency against me. In support of my proposition, I observed, that he well knew Stephanow to be my irreconcilable enemy, and that Boscarew and Zablikow were his intimate friends; who, consequently, were in no danger of giving a flattering deposition in my favour. I requested, moreover, that the governor would permit me to retire into his cabinet during the examination.

This proposal was agreed to by the governor, and the chancellor was in the greatest rage to see himself dared to this point. He therefore required them to be sent for, and as I had told him they were then with Stephanow, the messengers were sent directly thither. In the mean time I took the liberty to rally the chancellor on his discovery. But the governor protested, that if the alarm he had raised should prove unfounded, he would break off his friendship with him.

At length, however, the two witnesses were announced, and I retired. The chancellor shewed them the letter, and they replied, that they knew the hand writing perfectly, though they were ignorant of the subject on which it was written, and, in a word, they knew nothing of any plot. They observed that it was true that they were intimate with Mr. Stephanow, who had complained to them against me, in consequence of which they had declared themselves my enemies, and had sought occasions of quarrelling with me; but that their opposition was personal, and did not require them to depart from their characters as men of veracity. To this they added, that they recollected perfectly well,

that Mr. Ismailow had some days before related to them a feigned story, contrived by himself, and had misled them so far as to cause them to seek opportunities of quarrelling, with a view to do me a mischief. But that since they had found that the whole of Mr. Ismailow's narration was false, they had given up their quarrel, and were much mortified to find, that they had been so far misled and involved; though they could not avoid expressing their determination, that Ismailow should sooner or later give them an account of his conduct.

After this declaration, the governor politely dismissed Messrs. Boscarew and Zablikow, with the request that they would continue to entertain the same sentiments of esteem and friendship for me. He then brought me out of his cabinet to be a witness of the confusion of the chancellor, who scarcely durst look me in the face. I did not fail, however, to do my utmost to restore his confidence: and, by dint of intreaty, I at last prevailed on him to speak. He apologized for his error, by laying the blame on the malice of his nephew, against whom he breathed forth imprecations. He made the best excuses he could to the governor, who let him understand that he did not approve such liberties. Thus the whole business of conciliation fell upon me, which, however, I performed with success, by the help of a few glasses of brandy.

This affair being accomplished, I went to Madame Nilow and her daughter, who received me with open arms. The account I gave of what had passed astonished and alarmed them for the moment; but the happy termination was very satisfactory to them all, more especially Miss Aphanasia, who was not a little uneasy at the beginning of my narrative. I then took my leave, and blessed the happy chance that had afforded me the means of receiving into my party two such dangerous evidences, whose intimate acquaintance with all our designs had put us completely in their power.

## CHAPTER XXVI

On my return home, I dined, and after dinner the ceremony of the reception of Messrs. Boscarew and Zablikow was performed: after which I proceeded to relate to my companions the dangers I had passed, and publickly thanked our new associates for their eminent service.

We passed the evening together, and I did not quit the meeting, till I was informed of the arrival of the chancellor, who came to complete our reconciliation. I remonstrated strongly with him on the absurdity of his conduct, and assured him that, though I had done my best to reconcile him with the governor, he must not attribute this proceeding to my want of a due sense of the injury I sustained, but to a desire of seeing harmony prevail among the chiefs. I observed, that he ought to have mistrusted the insinuations of his nephew after the former discovery of his plot, and the falsehood he had been proved to be guilty of. And I concluded by informing him, that I was willing to overlook this second affront; but that if he should suffer himself to be misled into such an error a third time, I would not fail to seek my revenge. The chancellor protested that in future he would act with sincerity towards me, and we parted good friends.

On the 12th, I received a letter from Mr. Kuzneczow, wherein he informed me that Mr. Csurin was busy in

fitting out his vessel, but that it was impossible to clear the ice during the present month: That he would answer for the taking of the redoubt, the fire of which would protect the ship, while the vessel in return would clear the approaches to the redoubt: That Mr Csurin was disposed to share our fortune at all risks, as he had his lady with him: And lastly, he concluded his letter by intreating me to facilitate the means of his female friend joining him. The friendship and attachment of Mr. Kuzneczow entitled him to every return in my power; for which reason I charged Sibaew, who brought the letter, to send La Kusmika to Csekawka in one of the boats.

After dinner I was seized with a violent cholic, succeeded by a fever, which forced me to go to bed. In the night I grew worse, which obliged me to send for Messrs. Crustiew and Panow, to whom I intrusted the care and superintendence of the company.

On the 13th, Mr. Crustiew having acquainted Miss Aphanasia with my illness, she hastened to see me, and, as I was informed after my recovery, never quitted my bed-side, nor suffered any other person to attend me. The fever continued, without any regular period, during the 14th, 15th and 16th. On the 17th Mr. Meder bled me, and on the 18th he prescribed an emetic, by which treatment the fever left me on the 19th.

On the 20th, I was able to quit my bed, and Miss Aphanasia informed her mother of my recovery, who came together with her other children, to congratulate me on the occasion. It was at this time I was informed of the services Miss Aphanasia had done; I thanked her with the utmost sincerity, and was convinced that my gratitude affected her exceedingly. After the departure of Madame Nilow, though her daughter staid with me, Mr. Crustiew gave me an account that all our arrangements were in good order, and that the tranquillity which prevailed every where with respect to our in-

terests was such that we had no reason for any apprehensions.

On the 21st, I thought it necessary to persuade Miss Aphanasia to return home, for which purpose I represented to her that her presence was necessary to prevent our being surprized, for want of that information respecting what passed at her father's, which no one could better obtain than herself. For these reasons I urged her to return as speedily as possible: she admitted their force, and left me with tears.

After her departure, Mr. Crustiew informed me of his suspicions that the chancellor, in conjunction with the hettman, was meditating our destruction: For the hettman, he understood, was gone two days before to Verchney Ostrogg, and he had every reason to believe that the adventure of the death of Levontiew was his motive, because Boscarew and Zablikow had received a letter from Ismailow, who supposed them still his friends, in which he informed them of the discovery of an assassination committed by my order. In confirmation of this opinion Mr. Crustiew shewed me the letter, which clearly convinced me, that it became us to prepare for an open attack: for though I was well assured that the circumstances which had accompanied the death of Levontiew could not be brought in evidence against me, yet I had just reason to fear that the deposition of the tajon, who had put the letter directed to the governor into my hands, would produce an effect which, supported by the credit of the chancellor and hettman, could not fail to overthrow me. The more I reflected on this business, the more critical I found it, and as I was still too weak to sit up for any length of time, I gave Mr. Crustiew a charge to admit the two exiles, companions of Mr. Ivaskin, into our society, as I was sufficiently convinced of their attachment. This was done the same day, and they were so well satisfied with this mark of confidence, that they thanked me on

their knees for the favour I had bestowed on them, as, they said, of receiving them into my company, and giving them an opportunity either of avenging themselves of the unjust government which had oppressed them, or of dying in the attempt.

On the 22d, I assembled the whole company, and caused arms and the necessary ammunition to be distributed to each, in order that, in case our dwellings should be invested, they might not be unprovided; and as there was reason to fear an attack in the night, I gave regular orders for a guard and patrole. The arms were distributed in the night for the greater secrecy.

On the 23d, Miss Aphanasia came to see me incognito. She informed me, that her mother was in tears, and her father had talked with her in a manner which gave reason to fear that he suspected our plot. She conjured me to be careful, and not to come to the fort, if sent for. She expressed her fears that it would not be in her power to come to me again, but promised she would, in that case, send her servant; and she intreated me, at all events, if I should be compelled to use force against government, that I would be careful of the life of her father, and not endanger my own. I tenderly embraced this charming young lady, and thanked her for the interest she took in my preservation; and as it appeared important that her absence should not be discovered, I begged her to return, and recommend the issue of our intentions to good fortune. Before her departure I reminded her to look minutely after her father, and to find me a red ribband in case government should determine to arrest or attack me, and, in the second place, that at the moment of an alarm she would open the shutter of her window, which looked to the garden, and cause a sledge to be laid over the ditch on that side. She promised to comply with my instructions, and confirmed her promises with vows and tears.

As soon as Miss Aphanasia was gone, I thought it

proper to set up a pole for the conveniency of hois- ti
a light, and, at the same time, I sent instructions to n
companions that the light should be the signal fo
rallying.

On the 24th, being busied in preparing against every surprize, I caused a bridge to be broken down, which had been laid over a ravine that separated us from the town; and, instead of the bridge, I caused a single plank to be laid; over which no more than one person could pass at a time. At three in the afternoon, Mr. Crustiew informed me that the hettman was on his return, and had brought with him the tajon in question, and that Ismailow was likewise with his uncle. This information was sufficient to point out the steps it became us to take; but, in order to obtain a more perfect knowledge of the state of affairs, we sent ten of our associates of the party of Boscarew on discovery. They did not return till very late in the evening, and reported, that the hettman had had a long conference with the chancellor, and that about five in the evening, they had waited on the governor, accompanied by Ismailow and a Kamschadal chief. This report caused us to double our guard and patrole, and the whole society remained under arms.

On the 25th, in the morning, Miss Aphanasia's servant brought me a red ribband. She told me verbally, to beware of coming to the fort; that her mistress, as well as Madame Nilow, was in tears, as the governor had treated them with great severity, and had even struck his lady. About ten o'clock the governor sent a serjeant to me, to invite me to breakfast; to which I answered, that as I was not quite recovered of a dangerous illness, I could not wait upon him then, but hoped I should be able to have that pleasure to-morrow. The serjeant answered by advising me to go by fair means, if I did not wish to be dragged to the fort by main force. To this I replied in short, by desiring him to

mind his own business, and carry my answer; at the same time that I advised him to make his confession before he ventured to come on any such enterprize.

About noon I saw the hettman coming towards our house. I received him very politely, and he informed me that he came on the part of the governor to persuade me to come to the fort. The business, he told me in confidence, was to discuss one of the ridiculous fancies of the chancellor, which I might easily overthrow, and consequently, that I ought to make no difficulty in accompanying him. But when I replied, that my illness did not permit me to wait upon the governor, and that I certainly should not go that day, he became angry, and threatened to force me thither by his Cossacks. I laughed at his threats, which did not tend to restore his calmness. He called out to his Cossacks to come in and compel me to follow him. I whistled, and five of my companions instantly rushed in, and disarmed the hettman and two Cossacks, to whom I declared that they were my prisoners.

After this stroke, the hettman asked permission to write to the governor, and I promised to dispatch a letter from him, provided it was first submitted to my perusal. In his letter he proposed to the governor to enter into terms with me, at the same time informing him that he was himself detained as a prisoner. Together with his letter I sent one in my own name to the governor, in which I explained that the premeditated treachery of the chancellor, which I was sufficiently informed of, had induced me to take this step, and that I entreated him not to consider it as an attempt to incite an insurrection, as it depended on his excellency's pleasure to permit me to depart for Lopatka.

About five in the evening, the governor sent me word, that if I did not set the hettman at liberty, I should pay for my insolence at the price of my life;

that my trial would be proceeded on in full assembly the next day, where, if I should be found innocent, he would take care that I should receive satisfaction from the chancellor; but that, in case I was conscious of guilt, he advised me to come and apply to the goodness and clemency of the throne for my pardon.

In a written answer to this message I replied, that if myself alone were personally concerned, I would not hesitate a moment to appear before him; but as the chief of a party, acknowledged as such by his own proper order, I could not act without consulting my companions: and, as it was late, I proposed likewise to consult them on the morrow. I added, that my personal conduct, as well as the liberty of the hettman, would depend on their decision.

At nine in the evening I sent a party of six associates to seize the chancellor, but he took care not to stir out of the fort: in his stead, however, they brought me Ismailow, his nephew, Szudeikin, his secretary, and the tajon, who was intended to be produced in evidence against me.

On the 26th, I received two red ribbands from Miss Aphanasia, at the same time that I learned from one of our associates, that the governor had summoned a council, at which no one could give an account how Ismailow and the tajon had been carried off; that, as no witnesses appeared, the governor had reproached the chancellor, and threatened him with the effects of his anger, calling him a traitor, who took a pleasure in exciting disturbances; and lastly, that every one was persuaded that, the accusation of the chancellor being false, Ismailow and the tajon had disappeared, because incapable of standing the examination. He further reported, that the governor, enraged at the witnesses not appearing, had dismissed the council, and retired to the fort.

At eleven o'clock I received a message that th

governor was convinced of my innocence, and consented that the company should keep Mr. Hettman as an hostage; but that, for the sake of the form, he would send four soldiers for me, to whom he begged me to surrender. In reply to this message I answered, that I would entirely depend on the word and honour of the governor, who might send his guard for me, and that in the mean time I would do every thing in my power to persuade my associates to consent to my departure, which I had no doubt they would agree to, in consideration of their holding the hettman as an hostage.

Immediately after I had dismissed this messenger, I received another, with a letter from Miss Aphanasia, who intreated me to come to the governor, and assured me that her father was more prejudiced in my favour than ever. I could depend on the integrity and attachment of this amiable young lady, and her letter might have had its influence on me, if I had not observed that it contained many clippings of red ribband, which shewed me in what manner to proceed. I therefore gave orders to Messrs. Baturin, Wynbladth, and Panow, to place themselves at the head of their divisions, in readiness to act in the night, as I expected an attack, from the information I had received, that the soldiers of the garrison, as well as the Cossacks of the town, were busied in preparing their arms. Our number amounted to fifty-seven persons, but Mr. Crustiew informed me that he had sent an order to Mr. Kuzneczow to return with his people, and that he expected him at the close of the night. In order that I might not be taken by surprize, I formed three divisions, who stationed themselves round my house, while the fourth division remained within.

## CHAPTER XXVII

At five in the evening, I observed a corporal with four grenadiers, who came and stopped at my door, where they called out to me to open it by order of the Empress. I jocularly answered that he lied, for that the Empress being at Petersburgh, would not honour such a rascal as him with her orders; but told him that if he thought proper to behave with civility, we might perhaps transact our affairs in an amicable manner. Upon this he said, that the governor had informed him that it was agreed I should follow him, and consequently that he was ready to comply with my wishes in every respect. I then proposed that he should enter alone to drink a glass with me, and afterwards take charge of some papers that were necessary to be presented to the governor. He consented, and I accordingly admitted him, shutting the door after him, at which instant he beheld four pistols presented to his breast, and was threatened with instant death if he should dare to utter a single word. After conducting him into my chamber, I questioned him concerning every particular I was desirous of knowing, and when his deposition was finished, I ordered him to call the soldiers one by one, each by name, to come in and drink a glass, which he was forced to comply with. In this manner I became master of the detachment, which I caused to be bound, and deposited safely in the cellar.

At nine in the evening I received notice that a

detachment had been observed on their way towards the ravine. I therefore took the detachment of Wynbladth with me, and called out to them not to attempt to pass. They answered by several musket shot; in return for which I ordered my party to fire on those who were foremost, and after three had fallen the detachment remained motionless, and lay close with their faces to the ground. I could easily observe however that the officer had dispatched a man towards the fortress, no doubt with the intention of requesting assistance. For this reason I sent out a person upon discovery, but nothing was perceived 'till about eleven o'clock, when I received information that a body of troops were advancing towards our rear, and that from the noise there was reason to believe they had cannon with them. I gave orders to Mr. Wynbladth to observe the detachment at the ravine, and after causing the division of the center to join me, I myself advanced towards the enemy's troops. Before we met, I saw Mr. Stephanow, who, though scarcely able to walk, came armed, and had only time to tell me that he came to conquer or die with me. This resolution secured him my esteem; for tho' the poor man could scarcely support himself, he nevertheless did every thing in his power to encourage the associates.

When we came within the distance of fifty paces, the commanding officer of the detachment called out to us to surrender ourselves prisoners, otherwise he would not spare us. I replied that it was necessary we should know the conditions, and he in return asked what conditions I wished to propose. Our conference led us within fifteen paces of them, at which distance we began our fire, and our adversaries were so disheartened at our first discharge, that they left their cannon and fled hastily towards the wood. The officer was highly to blame in this respect, for if he had retired towards the fortress, we could never have forced it. His mis-

conduct inspired me with hope. No more than a short quarter of an hour was required to collect my people. I availed myself of their artillery, to fire on the detachment placed behind the ravine; and my fire, though in the air, prevented any of them from venturing to rise; so that I had perfect liberty to approach the fort. The centinel seeing us come with cannon, took us for the detachment, and, after challenging us, asked if we had brought the prisoners, to which I caused one of my people to answer in the affirmative. The man then worked like a fury to lower the drawbridge; which done, we entered with spirit, and finding only twelve men of the guard, they were quickly dispatched. While a party of my associates mounted to clear the casemates, I caused the drawbridge to be raised, and placed a guard. These precautions being taken, as I heard a firing in the court, and saw that my comrades were fastening the petard to force the inner gates, I ventured to pass through a window which I found open. Madame Nilow and her children, at sight of me, implored my protection to save their father and husband. I immediately hastened to his apartment, and begged him to go to his childrens room to preserve his life; but he answered that he would first take mine, and instantly fired a pistol, which wounded me: I was desirous, nevertheless, of preserving him, and continued to represent that all resistance would be useless, for which reason I intreated him to retire. His wife and children threw themselves on their knees, but nothing would avail: he flew upon me, seized me by the throat, and left me no other alternative than either to give up my own life, or run my sword through his body. At this instant the petard exploded and burst the outer gate. The second was open, and I saw Mr. Panow enter at the head of a party. He entreated the governor to let me go, but not being able to prevail on him, he set me at liberty by splitting his skull.

## CHAPTER XXVII

April 27th. No words can describe the unhappy scene this event produced: Madame Nilow fell at my feet, her daughters fainted, and the firmness of my mind was scarcely equal to the shock. I was ready to sink to the ground, when Mr. Panow seeing me in this situation obliged me to quit the apartment, and assured me that he would take care of Madame Nilow and her family. He begged I would hasten to a party of my associates, who were still fighting with the soldiers. I went out into the court, where I saw a new spectacle; it was covered with dead and wounded, some of whom informed me that our companions were busied in forcing a subterraneous place, in which several soldiers had taken refuge. I made haste to save the lives of these unfortunate men, and having met with Mr. Wynbladth and Crustiew, with four other associates, quickened my steps towards the bastion under which the casemate was, when all at once we heard a musket shot, and the cry of enemies. These shots were followed by regular discharges, which convinced us that they could not proceed from the fire of our people, who were dispersed in various places. We therefore returned to our centinel, who kept constantly calling out, the enemy! When we came to him, and mounted the banquet of the palisade, we saw a large party of Cossacks making preparations for an attack. In consequence of this, I detached Mr. Wynbladth to collect all the associates, leaving only a guard of four men to watch over the soldiers in the casemate; and in the mean time I was forced to sustain a brisk attack. It was a fortunate circumstance, however, that the ladders which the Cossacks had brought were too short, and the obscurity of the night did not permit our enemies to observe the weakest places of the fort. Their continual fire assisted us to direct our murdering pieces at them, which slew fourteen men in ten minutes, while no one on our side had received a wound. On the arrival

of Mr. Wynbladth with twenty-two associates, we mounted two three-pounders on the platform: two rounds from these were sufficient to disperse our military opponents.

After their retreat, as we had reason to fear a second attempt, we busied ourselves in mounting and charging all the cannon of the place, and afterwards cleared the court-yard and casemates of the dead. The associates obeyed my orders with the greatest zeal and activity; so that at three in the morning every thing was in perfect order.

## CHAPTER XXVIII

THE centinel of the bastion having heard a second noise on the city side, I went up myself and saw several lighted torches in motion, which determined me to send out some persons to make discoveries. Mr. Crustiew undertook this commission, with two of the associates.

After their departure I sent to request permission to see Madame Nilow, which being granted, I waited upon her and found her on her bed. I threw myself at her feet to beg her pardon for having been the involuntary cause of the death of her husband, and intreated her to consider my behaviour towards him, when I was desirous of preserving his life at the risk of my own. Her grief, extreme as it was, did not urge her to make any reproaches: she only asked for her children, and begged that the guard Mr. Panow had set over herself and them might be withdrawn. But when I informed her that the guard was designed merely for her preservation, she consented that it might remain. With respect to her children I was ignorant where they had been secured; but a servant informed us that Mr. Panow had conducted them into the hall, and had taken care to have them bled by Mr. Lapin. This suggestion reminded me of the propriety of Madame Nilow's undergoing the same operation, to which she consented: I therefore hastened to send Mr. Lapin

with directions for that purpose; and as I did not think it decent to intrude myself upon a family so overwhelmed with misfortune, I recommended to this gentleman to use every care and attention in his power to mitigate the distresses of their situation.

When I went out to visit the posts, I received advice that Mr. Crustiew had returned, and I therefore went to enquire what he had discovered. He informed me that the town was entirely abandoned by the men; that the hettman, delivered from his imprisonment by a party of men, had armed all the Cossacks, and had retired to the heights at half a league distant from the fort, where he declared he would starve us out; and his troops did not amount to less than seven or eight hundred men.

On this information I assembled my companions, and represented to them that we were certainly out of the danger of an attack in the fort, but that if we should defer the taking a speedy resolution to act without losing a single moment, we should, perhaps, find ourselves, in the course of twenty-four hours, so well invested, that we should not be able to get out, and by that means should be reduced to surrender at discretion from mere hunger. I informed the company of the report of Mr. Crustiew, and requested every one to give his advice respecting the proper steps to be taken in the present state of embarrassment. But as no plan was agreed on, I disclosed mine, which I had already formed beforehand, the moment I was informed of the resolution of Mr. Hettman. It was as follows:

I declared my resolution to send a detachment of twenty-two or twenty-four associates into the town, to drive all the women and children into the church; that as soon as they should be there secured, all the furniture of wood and other combustible matters which could be found, should be piled round the church; and when every thing should be thus disposed, which was very

possible to be done before day-break, notice should be given to the women to prepare themselves for death, at the same time that they should be informed that the determination of their husbands to oppose us by force had left us no other expedient than to sacrifice their families. And lastly, that after this declaration it should be proposed to the women to send three of their number, with twelve young girls, to their parents, to require them to lay down their arms.

The company agreed to this proposal, and Mr. Panow undertook to carry it into execution. But he observed that it was necessary, in his opinion, to convey the body of the governor into the same church, with the intention of more effectually intimidating the women. After his departure I gave the necessary orders, and the body of this unfortunate chief, whose life had been ever dear to me, was instantly carried to the place of destination.

The continual hurry of action had made me forget my wound; but I was desirous of taking advantage of this moment of tranquillity, and accordingly sent for Mr. Lapin, who declared that the consequences might be dangerous, because I had suffered the blood to coagulate. In fact the frost had congealed a large quantity, and, in order to thaw it, I was obliged to approach the fire, which gave me the most excruciating pain. I could not stand up nor walk until Mr. Lapin had extracted the ball, in which operation I found him very skilful. After my wound had been dressed, as I was not capable of using my leg, he caused me to be conveyed into the chamber where the rest of the wounded men were, and where I had the mortification to see nine dead, and seven dangerously wounded of my party, with more than fifty soldiers of the garrison wounded; the dead having been thrown into one of the bastions. When I had given orders that the necessary assistance might be administered to all who were in want of it, I retired into the hall of the chancery to rest; but my

uneasiness respecting the success of my project, did not permit me to take any repose until the return of Mr. Panow, who related that he had shut up more than a thousand women, girls and infants, who had all unanimously requested leave to send some one of their number to their husbands, whom they promised to bring back to our feet.

The day beginning to appear, I thought proper to hasten this expedition, and determined to send one of my associates with the woman, beating a drum as the sign of a parley, at the same time that he should carry a proper summons to the following effect:

"We are informed of the resolution you have taken "to block us up in the fort, and reduce us to the "necessity either to perish by hunger, or have recourse "to your mercy by surrendering at discretion. This "resolution shews very little judgment on your part; "for in truth it is impossible for you to persuade us "that your determinations are directed to this end, "while you have left in our power the most precious "deposit which nature has given you, your wives, your "daughters, and your children; who must secure us "from your senseless rage, unless you are monsters "abhorred by nature. You will be the real executioners of your families, and their blood will cry out "for vengeance against you. It remains in the mean "time for you to adopt one of the two propositions we "here make.

"1. We demand that, one hour after the reception "of this message, you shall set at liberty the four "associates you made prisoners at the time the hettman "was set at liberty; and that afterwards you shall lay "down your arms, and present yourselves unarmed at "the fort, in order that we may take hostages from "amongst you, which may be necessary to prevent such "incidents as may hereafter occasion new hostilities.

"2. That, on your refusal to comply with these

" proposals, we will set fire to the church in which " your wives and children are confined. It shall be " their tomb; their cries will convince you of the " accomplishment of our resolution.

" We send the present to you at nine o'clock precisely; " hasten to assemble, and carry into execution such " resolutions as you may judge most suitable to your " present situation. Our resolution shall be carried " into effect at ten precisely."

After having caused the present writing to be signed by the chiefs of our association, I sent Sibeaw towards the Cossacks, with four women and twelve children.

After the departure of our messenger the associates busied themselves in amassing the wood of chairs, tables, &c. and different utensils round the church. About eight o'clock Madame Nilow asked to speak with me; but when she heard that I could not rise to pay my respects to her, she came herself, with her youngest daughter. The fatigue I had endured throughout the night, and the effusion of blood which had altered my countenance, made her to forget her own grief. She ran towards me, and her first words, which expressed her fears for my situation, afforded no small consolation to my mind. This worthy lady, after shewing a proper sense of the loss of her husband, told me, that, though propriety forbad her seeing me, she could not avoid declaring at that moment that she acknowledged my innocence in all that had passed; and that she had with wonder beheld my forbearance, at the time when wounded by her husband, and in the most imminent danger of my life, I did not use my arms against him. For this cause, she said, I was justified in her opinion; but that, as it would be impossible for her to make the public adopt the same sentiments, she had resolved to retire immediately after the funeral of her husband; for the performance of which she requested my permission and support. She continued her discourse by telling

me, that, with regard to her daughter, as she saw her firmly attached to my person, and could not expose her to the resentment of her sisters and her family, she consented to put her into my hands, provided I would promise to establish her in the manner I had assured her, by marriage. In this situation, urged by the necessity of calming the mind of an unhappy mother, whose virtue and firmness of soul I have every reason to admire, I promised all she required. She then embraced her daughter, advised her always to preserve the same attachment to me, and wished her every happiness; and at last hastily rising, she passionately exclaimed, you are the cause of the loss of her father, become her husband, and be a father to her!

She departed, and her daughter informed me that she had been tormented by the reproaches of her sisters, who openly accused her of having been in the plot, though she would have gladly consented to the loss of her own life to have preserved that of her father. At these words she burst into tears, but continued her discourse by observing, that, in the present situation, no other resource offered itself to her but to follow me: but, in order that the public might not reproach her mother for having consented to her departure with me, she requested that I would cause her to be carried off. I promised to proceed accordingly; after which she likewise retired, wishing me success in the conduct of my enterprize.

At a quarter after nine, having received no answer from the Cossacks, I ordered four fires to be lighted, at the distance of three fathoms from each angle of the church. At half an hour after nine, I received intelligence that a number of handkerchiefs were seen fastened to piquets on the mountain, with which signals were made. At three quarters after nine, about fifty men were seen running with all their force towards the fortress, but without arms, which led me to think that

the Cossacks had determined to surrender. At eleven minutes after ten, two Cossacks appeared before me, almost breathless, who told me that they had been dispatched to inform me that my first proposition was accepted, and that, in the course of half an hour, the whole troop would present themselves unarmed; for which reason they begged me to proceed no further until they could arrive.

A moment afterwards Sibeaw likewise arrived, and declared that on the first reading of his letter, they had determined to march strait to the church to deliver their families, but on being informed by the women that the combustible matters were piled together, and the fire at hand, so that their resolution would only hasten the destruction of so many innocent creatures, they entered into a debate, which could end only in the imprisonment of the hettman, whom they were bringing to me. At a quarter past eleven, the troops at last arrived, and as I had given my orders to Mr. Panow, he caused those to enter into the fort whom I had determined on as hostages, and sent the others to the church to bring their wives into the town. At the same time he took the precaution to send a detachment to the mountain, for the purpose of guarding the arms until they should be removed into the fort. Every thing being thus in a state of tranquillity, I caused the casemate to be opened, out of which came forty-two soldiers and the chancellor, whom I sent to accompany the hettman. The number of our hostages amounted to fifty-two persons, all principal men of the place, whose lives were to answer for the behaviour of the people.

## CHAPTER XXIX

At noon Mr. Panow made a review of our associates, and reported that Mr. Meder was not present. Search was made among the dead, but he was not found, and we were very uneasy concerning his fate, until Mr. Crustiew assured us that he believed he was securely hidden at home, and that if I pleased to send he had no doubt but he would be found in the oven. Mr. Panow immediately sent four armed companions, who returned with him, but before he was brought in, Mr. Crustiew informed me that Mr. Meder had been found on his knees, and that on their entrance he cried out he was innocent, and knew nothing of the plot. This recital made us laugh, but I was greatly surprized when I heard that Mr. Meder still believed that he was in the hands of government. For the more perfect assurance of this, I sent for him. At his first appearance he threw himself on the ground, and repeated his oaths that he knew nothing of the plot. I caused him to be lifted up, but this did not prevent his taking me for the governor, and continuing his delirium. It was not till after I had shaken hands with him, and given him a glass of brandy, that he came to himself, and freely related, that at the first firing he withdrew into his house, and prayed to God for our preservation, and that about day break, having heard the Cossacks knock at the door, he fainted away, and when he came to himself he was convinced of

our destruction; an idea which had deprived him of his presence of mind.

After taking a little refreshment, I gave my orders to each of the chiefs. Mr. Crustiew was charged to go down the river to seize the corvette St. Peter and St. Paul, with the assistance of Mr. Kuzneczow and his party, and to burn all the other ships or barks. Mr. Baturin was ordered to examine the magazine and the treasury, to make an inventory of their contents. Mr. Panow undertook to superintend the funeral of the late governor, and the burial of the dead. Mr. Wynbladth had the care of the military services; and for my own part, as my wound became exceedingly painful, I was incapable of performing any duty; but I placed all my hope in the skill of Mr. Meder; for Mr. Lapin's knowledge extended no further than to the treatment of wounds.

In the evening I entreated Madame Nilow to permit me to see her, but she refused. In the night Miss Aphanasia came to see me, and after expressing her grief for my sufferings, she informed me that Madame Nilow intending to depart in two days, it would be necessary to carry her off as soon as possible. I dissipated the apprehensions of this amiable young lady, and afterwards had a light sleep.

On the 28th, every preparation being ready for the funeral, I gave orders to acquaint Madame Nilow that the ceremony waited for her orders. She determined that it should be performed without delay. The whole town was therefore obliged to repair to the church; and the burial was made with the greatest pomp. Twenty-one guns were fired from the fortress. After this ceremony I ordered Mr. Panow to persuade the archbishop, either by threatenings or promises, to preach a sermon in the church in favour of the revolution we had produced, and afterwards to receive the oath of fidelity, from all my companions towards me, upon the gospels

at the altar, and that after all this ceremony he should carry away the miraculous image of St. Nicholas, in order that the liturgy might be duly performed on board. This proceeding appeared to me to be useful, as by means of their religious superstition, I might have the greater power over the minds of such as were governed by the prejudices of their faith. I passed this day under a fever, and was informed in the evening, that every thing had been conducted in the best possible order. Towards midnight the fever returned, and I had only time to instruct Mr. Panow of my intention to carry off Miss Nilow, and to give him my reasons for so doing.

May the 2d. During the three foregoing days I was delirious, in which time I was bled three times, and Mr. Panow did not think proper to interrupt me; but at three in the afternoon Mr. Meder affirming that I was out of danger, he informed me that Mr. Crustiew had taken possession of the corvette, and that the inventories of the contents of the magazines were made; the people being at present busied in collecting provisions for our voyage. And last of all he informed me, that Madame Nilow was gone, and that the instant before her departure she came to see me, and wept bitterly, without speaking a word. I then asked what was become of her daughter, and he replied, that the evening before the departure of her mother, he had caused her to come out of the window without the least knowledge of her sisters, who, at their awaking, made a disturbance. But that their mother having hastened their departure, shewed great signs of resentment against her daughter who had escaped; by which means her other sisters were persuaded that the disappearance of their youngest sister was voluntary. He informed me, that since their departure Miss Aphanasia had not quitted my bed-side until this day, after Mr. Meder had assured her that I was out of danger, and persuaded her to take some rest.

## CHAPTER XXIX

In the evening, finding myself somewhat better, I admitted the officers of my party and my associates, to whom I expressed my strong sense of their behaviour. This day I ordered rafts to be made, to carry our artillery and ammunition on board the vessel, and on this same day likewise eighteen volunteers offered themselves to follow my fortunes, among whom was Ismailow, the nephew of the chancellor. This man had contrived sufferings for the secretary of the chancery, Mr. Szudeikin, by charging him with all the mischief he had himself intended doing to the company; and during the night, he insinuated himself so well into the good opinion of my companions, that he obtained not only his pardon from them, but likewise their assistance to revenge himself on Szudeikin for several different proceedings.

This rascal conducted them to the house of Szudeikin, who certainly had made no attempts to injure us, where they dragged him out of bed, beat him severely, and after pillaging his house, left him half dead.

On the 3d of May, after I had received an account from Mr. Panow of the conduct of Ismailow, I caused him to be put in irons. On the same day I had the archives of the chancery packed up, to carry them with me. The great quantity of furs which my officers found in the magazines, made me perfectly easy, as to the means of providing for the subsistance of all my companions on my arrival in Europe. I therefore began to enjoy some calmness, when at ten o'clock Miss Aphanasia came to me. She at first used every effort to conceal her sorrow and tears, but they at last overcame her attempts, and, as she was oppressed by extreme grief, I had not much difficulty in obtaining a knowledge of what afflicted her. The information she had received gave me great uneasiness at first; but at last she inspired me with that respect which a noble confidence produces in all the affairs of life. This

amiable young lady put a letter into my hands, and simply said, I know all, forgive the first emotions of grief; I am prepared, and you have no future weakness to fear. Surprized at the resolute tone with which she pronounced these words, I opened the letter: it was written by Stephanow, who informed Miss Aphanasia, that after having been deceived and betrayed by me, she owed the most eminent vengeance to herself and family; to effect which he offered his services. He informed her that I was married, and consequently incapable of placing her in any estimable rank of life. He represented, that after this information, as she could never become my wife, she could not without dishonour follow my party: and he finished his letter by declaring, that he would efface her shame by my blood; for which purpose he waited only the re-establishment of his health, in order to offer his hand.

This letter, at any other time, would have inspired me with pity for an unhappy man, who was rushing hastily to his destruction; but at that moment it affected me strongly. For I had proposed to defer my confession until I could procure a proper match for the young lady. In this state of astonishment she roused me out of my reverie, by saying, "Listen, my dear "friend, do not afflict yourself: your Aphanasia will "not be unhappy. She loves you, and will always love "you. She cannot call herself your wife, but you may "keep her as your child." Immediately after which she said, "Shall it not be so, my dear papa." This ingenuity and freedom of character, united to the heroic sentiments of so amiable a person, went to my heart, and I could not avoid paying the tribute to such elevated sentiments. I begged her pardon for having concealed my situation from her, and pleaded, in my justification, that I was actuated by a regard for my family, and connected with a company whose members had exposed their lives to preserve mine; and, with a view to interest her still

more, and obtain her indulgence, I likewise urged, as an excuse, the sentiments that I entertained for her. My words, though very ill calculated for my justification, were received with such interest as secured my pardon, which she pronounced by declaring, that nothing in the world could destroy her attachment for me. She added, that she would be contented to live in the country where I should fix my abode, and should enjoy perfect happiness in seeing me, and calling me father. Her hopes, she said, were to enjoy perfect repose in the bosom of my family, as she was resolved to renounce marriage intirely; and the only promise she requested of me was, to consider her as my own daughter, and permit her to change her cloathing, with a view that, when cloathed as a man, she might be less embarrassing to me.

Mr. Panow interrupted our conversation. This faithful friend being informed of what had passed, desired leave to go and destroy his relation; but soon after, hearing the resolution of Miss Aphanasia, he threw himself at her feet, to render homage to her courage. She at last retired with that tranquillity of mind which can only result from a resolution firmly taken. After her departure Mr. Panow informed me, that he had heard the day before, that Miss Aphanasia had discovered my marriage, though he had not been able to discover the name of the person who had betrayed me. He begged me to permit him to abandon his relation to justice, in order to deliver society from a monster, who, by his intrigues and wickedness, might hereafter lead the whole company to destruction. It was not without great difficulty that I could dissuade him from his intentions, but at last I succeeded. At this instant Mr. Baturin arrived, who informed me he had been present at a scene with Mr. Stephanow, where Miss Aphanasia having come in, made the bitterest reproaches for his want of attachment and fidelity to

me. She declared that she despised his character and his person; that she had never looked upon him in any other light than as a monster of impiety and ingratitude; that he was basely mistaken to think that she had ever wished to become my wife, as she knew my situation from myself: and that her determination to attach herself to me was as a friend and daughter. She finished her discourse by advising Stephanow to enter into his own breast, to dismiss every idea of love towards her, and alter his behaviour in future. Stephanow, irritated at this discourse, became furious, and took up one of the pistols which lay beside his bed; but Baturin disarmed him, and caused him to be immediately conducted into a separate house, where he was at that time, guarded by two of the associates.

This day I distributed among my associates all the money of the imperial chest, and a quantity of silk, sattin, and taffaties. I likewise received a letter from Mr. Crustiew, who pressed me to hasten to the port, in order to restrain the associates, who had behaved improperly to the natives.

May the 4th. This day a council was held to judge Mr. Stephanow, and sentence was passed that he should be excluded, in every respect, from their meetings, and from all command among the associates. Just before the breaking up of the committee, Miss Aphanasia presented herself in the dress, and with the arms of a man, and the company named her Achilles. Her figure in this dress was charming, and she certainly had as much courage as it is possible for a woman to have. About noon the rafts being ready, I sent twenty-five of the associates to the sea side, with thirty-three hostages under their care, the charge of whom was embarrassing to me in the town. I likewise sent one hundred and forty-six sledges by land, loaded with forces, to be embarked on board the corvette.

On the 5th of May, 1771, I ordered the priest to

celebrate solemn divine service, and at the reading of the gospel I caused all the associates who were present to enter into an oath of fidelity towards me. At the end of this service I gave an entertainment at the fort, at which several of the inhabitants were present. At half past seven o'clock I gave orders for our departure on the 6th of May.

On the 6th, after having nominated persons to the administration, and caused the inhabitants to make oath that they would do nothing without the consent of me or my companions, during the whole time we should continue at Kamchatka, I effected my departure, and the business was transacted to the great contentment of both parties, though from different causes. At eleven o'clock in the evening, I arrived at Tsekawka, where I was received with enthusiasm by my companions and by Mr. Csurin, commander of the corvette, who assured me that the vessel would be ready to sail on the 11th of May.

On the 7th, after visiting the works, I was satisfied with the assiduity of my companions. My satisfaction was still greater to see one hundred and eighty Cossacks at work, whom they had forced to assist them. This day Mr. Crustiew warned me that the Kamchadal tajon of Kawka had entered into an oath with a lieutenant of the garrison, who had escaped, and had promised to assassinate me, at the same time that he informed me that the tajon was come, and requested permission to speak to me. I gave immediate orders to seize him, and bring him before me, where he denied the accusation, though he admitted that the lieutenant had made the proposal to him. A pistol found on this emissary aggravated his case, and convinced me of the propriety of administering to him fifty strokes of a bludgeon. He had scarcely received twelve before he confessed his crime, and declared that the lieutenant was then with the tajon of a neighbouring village, together with Mr.

Gurgiew, brother in law to Mr. Crustiew, who was strongly attached to the late government. Upon this deposition, I sent Mr. Kuzneczow, with six associates, to seize the criminals, whom they brought back at five o'clock. Their sentence, and its execution, was deferred till the following day. On this day I received a request from more than thirty women and girls, who were desirous of following the fortune of their friends, but as it was impossible for us to take so large a number of people on board, three only were accepted, and the others were refused, with the promise, that on our arrival at the first island, we would send the vessel for them.

On the 8th, in the morning, the company condemned Mr. Gurgiew the exile, and Mr. Valnoy the lieutenant, to receive fifty strokes of the knowt, and the tajon double the number. This was instantly executed, and Messrs. Gurgiew and Valnoy were sent to the town to be cured.

On this day fourteen exiles arrived from different places, and begged me to receive them into our society, which was agreed to. At six o'clock the vessel, having undergone a complete repair, was rigged and twenty-two bears were this day salted as part of our sea stock.

On the 9th and 10th the company were busied in loading the vessel. On the 11th, all being ready for departure, I delivered the hostages, and sent them back to the town, except Mr. Szudeikin, secretary of the chancery, whom the company forced to embark, to serve them in quality of cook, for which they gave us as a reason, that it was necessary he should do penance for the mischiefs he had occasioned to the society at Kamchatka. On my arrival on board, I hoisted the colours of the confederation of Poland, which ceremony was attended with the discharge of twenty guns.

## CHAPTER XXX

As a supplement I shall give a short extract of the different voyages undertaken to the eastward of Kamchatka, the manuscripts of which I found in the chancery.

In the year 1728, Captain Beering in company with Captain Tschirikow, made an expedition to discover the continent of America; but they went no further than cape Naninskoy, which the Russians supposed to be cape Tschukotskoy. This first expedition not having answered the intentions of the court of Russia, Mr. Kreniczin made another in the year 1729, which was not attended with any greater advantage. The third expedition, undertaken by these two captains in the year 1741, was more successful. They visited the coast of America, and some islands. Captain Beering, on his return, was shipwrecked on an island near Kamchatka, on which he died, and the crew, in honour of their captain, named the island after him. Captain Tschirikow received his crew on board, and returned to Kamchatka in the year 1742. His relation satisfied the minds of the Russians, and especially the traders, who hastened to fit out vessels in quest of the riches of these new islands.

The second expedition was that of two associates, Buffo and Srebernikow, who went no further than Beering's and the copper island. This voyage was

undertaken the 22d of May, 1745, and they returned in 1746.

The third expedition was that of Nevodschikow, likewise, in the year 1745, in the galliot Eudochia, in which he sailed to the Aleuthes islands, nearest to Kamchatka. The great number of beavers he took afforded him a sufficient booty, and induced him to return, after having left traces of unexampled cruelty behind him. He carried off with him several young people of the natives; but no more than one lived to arrive at Kamchatka.

The fourth was performed in the year 1747 by two vessels, fitted out by and belonging to Mr. Cholodilow, a merchant. One of these vessels anchored at Beering's isle, and after hunting on this island, returned to Kamchatka. Her companion directed her course towards the east, and, after visiting several islands, brought back a very rich cargo of beavers and foxes skins.

The fifth was performed in the year 1750 by a company under an exclusive privilege. No great progress was made in this expedition; for the first islands having sufficed to load the four ships, they returned to Kamchatka.

The sixth expedition was that of Nikiphor Trapesnikow, in the year 1750. The government sent on board his vessel a military officer, with twenty-five Cossacks; they visited several of the Aleuthes islands, and on their return they falsely reported that they had subjected these islands to the power of Russia. For in the year 1752 the governor of Kamchatka, having sent a sottnik with some Cossacks, to receive the tribute, they were all cut off. The return of Trapesnikow greatly increased the rage for fitting out vessels, his single vessel having brought back a cargo worth one hundred and forty-two thousand roubles.

The seventh voyage was undertaken by the same Trapesnikow, in the year 1754, on board the brigantine

St. Nicholas. This voyage produced the discovery of the island Atak.

The eighth was made by Srebernikow, who first discovered the islands of Foxes. He went as far as 29 deg. of longitude from Bolsha.

The ninth was undertaken by Tolsty, in the year 1756, who proceeded as far as Ulanaxa, and returned with a cargo valued at two hundred thousand roubles.

The tenth enterprize was made by Stadeneczow, in the year 1757, who ran aground on the island of Urumusir, where most of the people on board were cut off.

The eleventh was undertaken by Trapesnikow, who departed from Kamchatka in the year 1758, and after having visited several islands, came at last to Urumusir, where he was repeatedly attacked by the natives, who slew twenty-six of his people.

The twelfth was undertaken by Boscarew in the year 1760, who went as far as the island Alaxa, which is very near the continent of America. Most of his crew were cut off by the natives of that place.

The thirteenth expedition was made in the year 1762, at the expence of an association, who fitted out and armed five vessels, with the intention of examining the commerce, hunting, and fishery of the Aleuthes islands, where they were to form a colony; but the ignorance of the commanders of these vessels caused the loss of four, and the fifth returned, after three years absence. The murders and robberies perpetrated by this armament on the inhabitants are incredible.

The fourteenth was undertaken by Soloniow, in the year 1764. This vessel moored on the coast of the main land of America, which the commander mistaking for the island of Unalaksa, he had continual combats with the natives, and at last, after a considerable loss, was compelled to retire to a small island, on whose inhabitants he inhumanly revenged his loss. Two

thirds of his people died of the scurvy before his return to Kamchatka.

The fifteenth voyage was made by Oczederin, in the year 1765. This navigator confined his views to fishing and the chace in the small islands, and did not venture to approach the coast of Unalaksa.

The sixteenth expedition was made by Captain Peter Kreniczin, who quitted Kamchatka in the year 1768, and instead of endeavouring to carry his discoveries as far as the continent, he remained two whole years on a small island, from which he sent his armed sailors, his canoes, and shallop, to hunt and fish, and to trade with the natives; so that government received no other benefit than that of paying out the charges of the expedition. Captain Kreniczin likewise derived no advantage from his voyage; for he was drowned in the river of Kamchatka, by his crew, on his return in the year 1770. Mr. Levaschieff, therefore, was the only gainer, for he had all the profit without receiving any blame, as he, in quality of subordinate to Mr. Kreniczin, was not responsible for the behaviour of his commander.

The seventeenth expedition was that of the corvette St. Peter and St. Paul, in which I had the good fortune to quit Kamchatka on the 12th of May, 1771, and arrived at Macao on the 22d of September in the same year.

## CHAPTER XXXI

A WISH to profit by the leisure time I enjoyed, and to divert disagreeable reflections, led me to form [a] chart, and to add such information as I could obtain respecting the eastern parts of the northern continent, in order that they might serve for the instruction and assistance of enterprizing navigators.*

A description of the town of Jakutzk, the remotest town in Siberia, situated in northern Tartary. This town lies† in the sixty-third degree of north latitude, at the distance of one hundred and twenty-five French leagues from Ochoczk, a town and port on the eastern coast of the frontier. Jakutzk is subject to the government of Irkuczk, and is under the command of a voivode. In the year 1764 it was reckoned that forty thousand souls were subject to the government of this town, including the whole nation of the Jakutt Tartars, a wandering people, who occupy the immense desarts which form this province. The town is inhabited by exiles and Cossacks, who are always armed in readiness to keep the Jakutt chiefs in dependence. On the banks

* The chart here mentioned has not come to the hands of the editor: it is therefore supposed that the Count took it with him in his last expedition, where, in all probability, it was lost.

† In lat. 62 deg. 1 min. 50 sec. N. and long. 147 deg. E. from Ferro: both determined by observation. See Coxe's Russian Discoveries, page 387.

of the river Lena stands a fortress built in wood; the garrison of which consists of one hundred and fifty soldiers. Several rich merchants are settled in this town, who carry on the fur trade. All the caravans that pass from Russia to Ochoczk or Kamchatka are obliged to winter in this town, on account of the great quantity of snow and the excessive cold, which prevents them from going forward during the whole winter, which lasts full eight months.

In the year 1770, a considerable quantity of cannon, anchors, cables, and other marine stores, arrived in this town destined for the port of Ochoczk, where it was intended to establish a more considerable sea force; but the impossibility of drawing these heavy articles by dogs, obliged government to give up the project. I found one hundred and twenty-five officers exiled in this province, who, since the reign of the present Empress, have been banished into this barbarous country. The communication between this town and Ochoczk is kept up by the Jakutts, who are obliged annually, in the month of June, to provide six thousand horses. The caravan employs three months on the road from here to Ochoczk, and the horses pass no further than Judoma; from whence dogs and sledges are made use of to carry their merchandize to Ochoczk.

When I came myself along this road, on which I was detained ninety-five days, I saw no more than eighty horses, with which we were supplied, and all these, except seventeen, died on the road. It is impossible for government to remedy this inconvenience, which, in process of time, must cut off all communication by land with Ochoczk. The prospect of this event has engaged the Russian government to make preparations for securing the navigation of the river Amour, which falls into the sea to the southward of the island Sachalin, and runs through the southern parts of Siberia.

## CHAPTER XXXI

The town of Uda is situated on the banks of a river of the same name in 55 deg. 24 min. N. lat. and 341 deg. 30 min. long. from Kamchatka. This small town is inhabited by one hundred families of exiles, who have thrown off their subjection to the Russian government, and established regulations among themselves. The inhabitants of this town have opened a trade with Korea, and can live without the assistance of Russia. Instead of oxen and cows, this new colony maintains a flock of elks, the flesh of which is good; the females afford a considerable quantity of milk, which they make into butter and cheese. I have eaten of both at Jakutzk. This province affords the most beautiful sables, and rivals the commerce of Russia, to the no small prejudice of the latter.

In the year 1770, the government of Ochoczk detached a serjeant, named Lohner, with twenty-four soldiers and eighty Cossacks, to reduce the town of Uda; but this troop, instead of executing the orders intrusted to them, deserted, and fixed their abode in Korea.

The river Uda would be navigable, if its entrance were not stopped by quicksands. From Uda to Ochoczk the coast runs N. E. and may be sailed along with safety every where, at the distance of three leagues; the depth of water being from fourteen to fifteen fathoms. The whole extent of this coast is inhabited by the Tungusi, who subsist on their flocks of elks, and the whales, which sometimes get aground. It has been observed that the current sets from N. to S. on this coast the whole year round, and the tide rises six feet four inches.

The port of Ochoczk * in the lat. of 59 deg. 19 min. N. and 348 deg. 10 min. long. from the meridian of

* Lies in 59 deg. 22 min. N. lat. and 160 deg. 7 min. E. long. from Ferro, both by observation. See Coxe's Russian Discoveries, page 387.

Kamchatka, is formed by a river of the same name. The entrance of this harbour is due north. The town is built on the banks of the river, and a pretended fortress commands the harbour. The exiles are employed in sea affairs, and there is no year which is not signalized by some revolt. This disposition, which is maintained by despair, will open the entrance of Siberia to the first comer, and I can confidently affirm, that the arrival of the first foreign vessel will produce a revolution in Siberia: for from Ochoczk to Tobolczk there are at least one hundred and sixty thousand exiles, or their descendants, all bearing arms. The different hords of Tartars would join the common cause to overthrow the Russian dominion. This event cannot be far distant, and Russia will find herself, by a stroke of this nature, deprived of all that support which alone enables her to play a principal part in Europe, by virtue of the considerable augmentation of her revenue.

Several vessels are dispatched yearly from this port: one to Idziga; one to Tigil; three to Kamchatka, and eight or ten to the Aleuthes islands. The cargoes of these vessels consist in tobacco, a small quantity of flour, brandy, gunpowder, and some toys. On their return they bring back the skins of sables, martins, beavers, foxes, rostomaks, bears, ermins, elks and copper; which they have for some years past brought from Beerings isle. The Russians have hitherto carried on this trade without interruption; but since the desertion of several exiles, who have fixed their abode in the Aleuthes islands, and entered into alliance with the savages, several vessels have been taken, and three crews cut off. Several others likewise have surrendered their vessels, and have established themselves in these islands, instead of returning to Siberia. The spirit of desertion being thus excited among the common people, vessels are no longer fitted out but with apprehension; and the parties concerned petition government to put

troops on board each vessel, to keep their crews in subjection. But who can answer for the ideas of the soldiers: they likewise are men, and the love of liberty may have its influence on them as well as on others.

Russia is indebted, for the peaceable possession of this trade, only to the distance and the secrecy it preserves respecting its advantages, and the indolence of the other states of Europe, which have not made sufficient enquiries into the sources of the power of this vast monarchy. The immensity and extent of its possessions appear incredible to them, and prevent them from adopting the opinion, that, with the slightest sacrifice and exertions, its force may be overthrown, and destroyed at pleasure.

The province of Ochoczk is in all respects the most disagreeable spot on the face of the earth; covered with perpetual snow and ice, it produces neither vegetable food, nor even pasture for cattle: all the subsistence which is found there consists in fish and rein deer. These last animals are fed with moss, which grows on the rocks. In the province of Ochoczk grows cedar wood of prodigious thickness and height, very proper for shipping; the coast from Ochoczk to Taoui runs from E. to E. N. E.; and at the distance of three leagues off shore the depth of water is from fourteen to fifteen fathom sandy ground. The current sets from north to the east-ward.

Taoui is a small town and fortress, built on the banks of a river of the same name, in which resides a hettman of Cossacks, with twenty exiled families, to keep the Cossacks in dependence. It is situated in 60 deg. 15 min. N. lat. and 353 deg. 50 min. long. from the meridian of Kamchatka. The river of Taoui forms a harbour of small depth, and the communication between Taoui and Ochoczk by sea, is carried on by the boats called Bajdara.

Idziga is a town and fortress, built on the banks of the river of the same name, in which resides a voivode,

with a garrison of one hundred soldiers, three or four hundred Cossacks, and about two hundred families of exiles. This town reckons six thousand tributary Cossacks, who are continually at war with the people of Csucksi. It is situated in the 63d degree of north latitude, and 4 deg. 20 min. E. long from Bolsha.

Cape Pensina lies in 62 deg. 28 min. N. lat. and 4 deg. 28 min. long. from Bolsha. This cape divides the gulph of Pensina into two arms; the northernmost receives the river of Pensina, on the banks of which stands the town and fortress of Anadir.

The river Pensina is situated in 63 deg. 30 min. N. lat. and 8 deg. 15 min. long. from Bolsha. The entrance of the river is hardly practicable, on account of the sunken rocks and ice which continually float in it.

The town and fortress of Tigille is situated on the banks of the river of the same name, which forms a very beautiful harbour, though shallow, in which small vessels only can enter. The entrance of this harbour lies in 58 deg. 42 min. N. lat. and 2 deg. 50 min. long. from Bolsha. The town is commanded by a voivode, and the garrison is composed of eighty soldiers, one hundred Cossacks, and two hundred exiles. The Csucksi often insult the outer gates, and kill travellers. The limits of the province of Kamchatka are established at two verstes, to the southward of this town. I shall proceed to give a more ample account of this province.

## CHAPTER XXXII

KAMCHATKA is a considerable peninsula, extending to 58 deg. 41 min. N. lat. and terminated to the southward by a cape situated in 51 deg. 15 min. N. lat. Its form on the map resembles a dog's tongue. Many rivers abounding with fish run through this peninsula, but none of them are navigable, excepting the river of Kamchatka and the river of Bolsha. The river of Kamchatka is named Santal by the natives. It falls into the sea on the eastern coast of the peninsula in 56 deg. 15 min. N. lat. and its course before it falls into the sea is from N. to S. On the banks of this river is built a town called Nisney Ostrogg, commanded by a lieutenant immediately dependant on the governor of Kamchatka, who resides in the town of Bolsha, the capital of the province.

The town of Nisney Ostrogg is composed of three hundred houses, inhabited by a mixture of Cossacks and exiles, with a small proportion of natives: the town has two churches where divine service is performed by a protopope and six other priests. The district subjected to this town contains about three thousand Kamchadales, who are constantly employed in the chace and fishing.

The second town of this peninsula is Bolshoreczkoy Ostrogg, which, as I have observed, is the capital. It is composed of five hundred houses regularly built, which form one single street inhabited by Cossacks. It

is situated in 53 deg. 30 min. N. lat. and takes its name from the river on whose banks it stands. For the name Bolshoreczkoy denotes a great river, and Bolshoreczkoy Ostrogg is as much as to say, the town of a great river.

To the southward of the town, within cannon-shot, is built a fortress, tolerably regular, having a ditch, five bastions and twenty battering cannon. In this fortress the governor resides, with a garrison of two hundred and eighty soldiers under his command. At a small distance from the fortress stands the metropolitan church, which is a wooden edifice, at a distance from all other buildings. The place of the exiles is to the West of the town, near a wood, at the distance of half a league. It was in the vicinity of this town that my place of exile was appointed, and in which, by the special grace of her Majesty the reigning empress and autocratrix of all the Russias, a sufficient space of ground was to be assigned for the burial of my body. Happily however, the order of predestination did not agree with the orders of this sovereign power. For, after my arrival in a state of slavery at the end of the year 1770, I found myself master of the entire province, the town and fortress, in April 1771.

The town of Bolsha is five leagues distant to the eastward of the sea coast, and from the mouth of the river. In a strait direction from Bolsha, on the eastern coast of the peninsula, is situated the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul, which has sufficient depth of water to receive the largest vessels, though its entrance is difficult.

This port is perfectly well adapted for building shipping; but, as there is no wood proper for that purpose to be found throughout all Kamchatka, it is reasonable to think that Russia will derive no advantage from this circumstance. To the northward of the peninsula is a volcano, which was in the strongest state of eruption during my stay. I visited it, and, as I have

already mentioned, narrowly escaped becoming the victim of my curiosity.

The ground of this peninsula exhibits one single tract of snow, interspersed with mountains, many of which throw out burning matter, and from which a number of mineral springs issue forth. No vegetable has thriven in this ungrateful climate; for every experiment hitherto made has tended to corroborate this assertion. The greatest advantage which Russia might derive from Kamchatka, besides its furs, would be to establish smelting works for iron and copper. Unfortunately, however, the cruelty with which the Russians have treated the natives has diminished the number. For, at the arrival of the Russians, their number was reckoned at seventy thousand, and during my stay it scarcely amounted to eleven thousand, a number which must in future be still more diminished by the oppression they suffer. They are forced to contribute annually a number of slaves for the service of the soldiers and Cossacks, and are besides compelled to the sea service. From the most authentic examination I am assured that the population of the whole peninsula, in the year 1771, consisted of

| | |
|---|---|
| 364 | Soldiers. |
| 29 | Land officers. |
| 422 | Russian hunters. |
| 1500 | Cossacks and their officers. |
| 26 | Civil officers. |
| 82 | Russian merchants. |
| 700 | Descendants of liberated exiles. |
| 1600 | Exiles of different conditions. |
| 8000 | Male Kamchadales. |
| 2 or 3000 | Female Kamchadales. |
| 40 | Russian women. |
| 200 | Women, descendants of the exiles. |
| 15963 | Total. |

## CHAPTER XXXIII

1. On the eastern coast the depth of water is unfathomable, and a constant current sets from north to south.

2. On the western coast the depth of water is regular, being ten fathoms at the distance of one league from shore, twenty at the distance of two leagues, and so proceeding to one hundred fathom, beyond which distance no soundings have been taken. The current is from north to south.

The communication inland is continually kept up by sledges drawn by dogs: but the travellers are often buried in whirlwinds of snow. The coasting trade is carried on by Bajdou, which are the boats of the country made of planks sewn together with whalebone. The north-east coast of Kamchatka is inhabited by two nations, Cossacks and Csucksies, enemies of the Russians.

The different capes of this continent are

Cape Illim, situated in 58 deg. 36 min. N. lat. and 5 deg. 45 min. long. from Bolsha.

Cape Olata, 59 deg. 30 min. N. lat. and 11 deg. 0 min. long. from Bolsha.

Cape Suatoi 62 deg. N. lat. and 22 deg. 9 min. long. from Bolsha.

## CHAPTER XXXIV

As all [the Aleuthes] islands which lie further north than 60 deg. N. lat. are uninhabited, I shall wave the description of them, and only insert them in my chart, though the Russians pretend that the Csukesies often land on these islands in their passage from one continent to the other. This assertion appears to me to be so much the better founded, as having myself seen both the capes at one time, I have no doubt but that these emigrations are continually made. The cape * of the western coast of America, lies in 63 deg. 15 min. N. lat. and 26 deg. long. from Bolsha. To the north-east of this cape lie two islands, which it is affirmed were formerly inhabited, but as they were found without inhabitants in the last expedition of captain Levascheff in the year 1768, I shall pass them without further notice, and proceed to more interesting details.

1. The island of Barou is situated in 59 deg. N. lat. and 23 deg. 13 min. long. from Bolsha. No wood grows on this island, but it abounds with beavers and sea wolves.

2. Ala Gifcha Homin, a cape of the continent of America, is situated in 58 deg. N. lat. and 25 deg. 33 min. long. from Bolsha. The coast from this cape runs to the north-west as far as 59 deg. 45 min. N. lat. The

* This must have been Clerke's island. See Cooke's last voyage, vol. iii. August 1, 1779.

bottom is very irregular, and full of sand-banks and rocks.

3. The island of Kadick, situated in 54 deg. 30 min. N. lat. and 33 deg. 16 min. long. from Bolsha, is very well peopled, and abounds with beavers and foxes; it is full of sulphur, and the inhabitants have wrought iron, which they receive in exchange from the continent.* This island is but moderately wooded, and has a river, the entrance of which lies from north to south, and its depth between eight and ten feet. During the summer, a large quantity of wild geese and ducks come to this island, of which the inhabitants collect great store. Their navigation is performed in canoes made of skin. Nine other islands, all inhabited, are reckoned in the neighbourhood of the island Kadick, from which they lie to southward, and south-south-west. These islands are frequented by the armed vessels of the hunters from Ochoczk and Bolsha: but the account received by a vessel which returned from thence in 1769, and brought home several arrows with heads of silver, is entirely false, as it has been since discovered, that the commander of that expedition caused these silver heads to be made himself, with the view of obtaining a recompence from government. The truth is, that these islands abound with foxes and beavers, and that in the year 1770, on the 28th of October, a vessel returned, which had been fitted out by Arsenic Kuzneczow with nine thousand beaver skins, and three thousand foxes skins. It must be observed that the beavers of these islands are preferable to those of Canada, and that each of these beaver skins sell in China at the price of eighty, one hundred, or one hundred and twenty roubles, and for near twice that sum in Japan.

4. The Island of Foxes is situate in 53 deg. 45 min.

* *La Grande Terre*, America, I suppose, the natives of which may receive it by the progress of exchange from Hudson's Bay, and other parts of the eastern sides of that continent. T.

N. lat. and 31 deg. 28 min. long. from Bolsha: It abounds in foxes, and is well peopled. The inhabitants know how to work in iron and copper. They obtain the iron from the Russians, and the copper is the produce of their own country. This island has a very good harbour on the north-east side; but the inhabitants, who have received amongst them many Russian deserters, have made preparations for defending the landing. However, they are very willing to trade; and the Russians in this pacific way obtain, in return for brandy, glass ware and iron, immense quantities of furs.

At a small distance to the north-west lie four other islands, and three to the southward. These last are steep too, and are composed of a mass of rocks. The channel among them is very dangerous; its direction is south-east and north-west, but the sea is often so agitated, and the surf is so dangerous as to threaten the dismasting or oversetting of vessels which may venture through.

5. The island Armschud, situated in 53 deg. 0 min. north latitude, and 29 deg. 14 min. longitude from Bolsha, is likewise well peopled, and contains a regular town governed by a tajon or chief. In the year 1768 the crew of an armed vessel of hunters having found a large quantity of marcasite and copper ore on this island, took those minerals for gold, and fixed their abode there, to amass a quantity of riches. Some misunderstanding occasioned a war between them and the natives, the event of which was unfortunate for the Russians. Since that time Mr. Ochotyn, an exile, who deserted from Kamchatka, fixed his abode in this island, and made himself their chief by having contracted alliances with the natives of the country.

6. The island of Urumusir is situated in 52 deg. 35 min. north latitude, and 28 deg. 15 min. longitude from Bolsha: It is very populous, and governed by several tajons, who are all subject to a chief, whom I shall have

more particular occasion to mention in my journal. Two other islands lie north-east of this island, and three others to the north-north-west.

7. The islands of Beavers are three islands called by the Russians Jassacznie-ostrova, or Tributary Islands. The largest lies in 58 deg. 0 min. north latitude, and 26 deg. 45 min. longitude, from Bolsha. This island has two good harbours; the first on the eastern coast, the entrance of which is south-east; the second the western coast, and its entrance north-north-west. The inhabitants have been numbered at six hundred, who pay one thousand beaver skins as a tribute to the Russians.

8. The isle of Cows is in 51 deg. 35 min. north latitude, and 24 deg. 45 min. longitude from Bolsha. This island was thus named from the great quantity of sea-cows which are here found. The flesh of this animal serves for provisions to all the vessels of the hunters. Their teeth are of great value in the commerce with China. There are many bays on the coasts of this island, but the water is shallow, and wood is scarce. Besides these islands there are likewise a great number of others whose situation cannot be determined, and are besides of little consequence; for which reason I shall only mention further,

9. Beering's Island, situated in 55 deg. 45 min. north latitude, and 8 deg. 30 min. longitude, from Bolsha. This island bears the name of the captain who first landed upon it, and ended his life here.

10. The Copper Island, situated in 54 deg. 45 min. N. lat. and 9 deg. 50 min. long. from Bolsha. This island is so denominated from the abundance of this * metal, which the vessels take in as ballast, and unload it at Ochoczk, where I have seen large quantities heaped together, from which no advantage is derived. Having verified the situation of some of these islands myself,

* Mostly in a metallic or malleable state. Coxe, page 206.

and being assured of their situation by different journals, I have set down nothing by guess; but the following discovery has hitherto remained unknown.

A captain of a vessel named Cusma Korostilow, who made a voyage and returned to Kamchatka, being attacked with the scurvy, begged me to make a chart from his journal, which he put into my hands, and concerning the truth of which I satisfied myself by enquiries of several persons who went the voyage with him.

11. The island of Cusma, in 48 deg. 45 min. N. lat. and 23 deg. long. from Bolsha, is very well peopled and wooded; the inhabitants are cloathed in the Chinese manner, with cloth made of a plant resembling hemp. On the eastern side of this island is a mountain, from which Cusma and others of his people saw land at the distance of eight or nine leagues to the eastward.

12. The island of Pearls, in 47 deg. 32 min. N. lat. and 24 deg. 18 min. long. from Bolsha, is likewise well peopled, and the inhabitants live together in society. They are armed with iron instruments and bows. As several large sailing vessels were seen on the coast, it may be presumed, that there is a communication between this island and that of Cusma. Besides these two islands, the journal of Cusma mentions the discovery of a great country, composed of several islands, which, according to his estimate, lie under the 44th deg. of north latitude. He moored at one of these islands, which he imagined to be about fifty leagues round. His account induced me to seek for these islands, and I actually found them in the parallel of 46 deg. 12 min. N. lat. and 10 deg. 8 min. long. from Bolsha. Circumstances unfortunately prevented me from pursuing the discovery, so that I can do no more than wish better success to future navigators.

## CHAPTER XXXV

[The Kurelles] islands are twenty-eight in number: their situation is between 51 deg. 30 min. and 45 deg. N. lat. The three most northerly depend on Kamchatka; but all the others are independent.

The present is the most exact and most positive description of these islands; for I have written nothing but what is real. The relation of captain Spanberg, and several others, which I found in the archives of Kamchatka, such as that of the Sieur Walton, lieutenant of a vessel, captain Irtischew, captain Chmitewskoi, lieutenant Sind. But the manuduction of the Sieur Csorni, who frequented these islands for twenty-five years past, and carried on an exclusive commerce, has afforded me every necessary information.*

1. Amphigonon or Alayd, in lat. 51 deg. 30 min. N. and 359 deg. 30 min. long. from Bolsha, is nothing but a rocky mountain surrounded with very dangerous reefs.

2. Sumesu, in 51 deg. 3 min. N. lat. and 30 min. long. from Bolsha. This island is likewise rocky: it has an harbour on its north side, in which small vessels may winter. Some beavers, and a quantity of the fish called Kosattka, are found here. Here is plenty of water, and in winter, the melting of the snow forms

* This paragraph is translated verbatim.

everal rivulets. From the southern point of land we ee the third island.

3. Poromusir, in 50 deg. 52 min. N. lat. and 15 min. ong. from Bolsha: it is inaccessible on account of the ocks and sunken reefs which surround it: no wood grows here; the natives land in their boats of skin.

4. Cirinky, in N. lat. 50 deg. 7 min. and 10 min. long. from Bolsha. On the western coast of this island is a very spacious and commodious harbour, in which vessels may anchor at all seasons. This island is very thinly inhabited. Cedar and birch grow here, and there is no want of fish, beavers, and especially sea-wolves: several fresh springs are found in the southern part of this island.

5. Launath, in lat. 49 deg. 43 min. N. and long. 359 deg. 52 min. from Bolsha. This island runs from N. to S. being five leagues long and three broad. It is only occasionally inhabited by the Kurelles, who come from the more southerly islands for the purpose of catching beavers. Wood grows on this island, but it affords no water, and has no harbour.

6. Trinity, in 49 deg. 30 min. N. lat. and 359 deg. 21 min. long. from Bolsha, is merely a heap of rocks.

7. Galanth, in 49 deg. 26 min. N. lat. and 23 min. long. from Bolsha. On the west side of this island is a very good harbour. It is well wooded, but water is scarce; there are abundance of beavers on this island, but it is not inhabited.

8. Collosse, in 49 deg. 9 min. N. lat. and 359 deg. 33 min. long. from Bolsha, is nothing more than a heap of rocks and sand-banks.

9. Rouge is a rock in 49 deg. 7 min. N. lat. and 20 min. long. from Bolsha.

10. Sommeil in 48 deg. 50 min. N. lat. and 359 deg. long. from Bolsha; it is well wooded and produces a quantity of poppies, the seed of which being imprudently eaten by three persons, whom Csorni had sent a hunt-

ing, threw them into a sleep, which terminated in death.

11. Volcan, in 48 deg. 40 min. N. lat. and 50 min. long. from Bolsha. The volcano was extinguished in the year 1767, after a great earthquake. The principal environs of the mountain are covered with pumice stones, together with large lumps of sulphur, and a quantity of very heavy metal, which has undergone fusion. This island is known by its black appearance.

12. Courbé, in 47 deg. 49 min. N. lat. and 37 min. long. from Bolsha, is nothing more than a heap of rocks.

13. Exile, in lat. 48 deg. 40 min. N. and long. 1 deg. 4 min. from Bolsha. In the year 1757 the Kamchadales found on this island five Kurelles, driven out of their own country, which caused them to give this name to the island. It has few inhabitants, and is little better than a mass of rocks.

14. L'Agneau, in 48 deg. 27 min. N. lat. and 359 deg. 17 min. long. from Bolsha, is very thinly peopled, but well wooded. The inhabitants of this island are very well acquainted with trade, and are always provided with the produce and manufactures of Japan, such as cloths, knives, &c. These islanders sometimes arrive at Kamchatka. On the south-west side of the island there is a small harbour.

14. Chien (Dog island) is situated in 48 deg. 22 min. N. lat. and 359 deg. 43 min. long. from Bolsha. It has neither harbour nor fresh water. In the year 1768, Csorni took six thousand eight hundred sea-dogs in the space of four months, from which he gave it its name.

16. Vajvoda, in 47 deg. 30 min. N. lat. and 358 deg. 30 min. long. from Bolsha. This island was so called in honour of Vajvoda Demetri Nedozilow, who, in the year 1762, secretly sent a pilot with 12 soldiers to this island, with a view to collect a large quantity of gold,

which common report affirmed to abound in this place. But as no information had been received in the year 1769 concerning the expedition, Ivan Csorni visited it, and found no inhabitants. On the southern shore he found a cross with an inscription, from which he learned, that this detachment departed for the islands Jedzo. This island has no port, and produces no gold, but it abounds with beavers and sea-cows.

17. Usigak, in 47 deg. 16 min. N. lat. and 1 deg. 13 min. long. from Bolsha. On the south-west side of this island there is an excellent harbour, capable of receiving large vessels. The island is wooded all over, and well peopled by the Kurelles, who have built a small town. Ivan Csorni carried on a very advantageous trade at this place, and assured me, that he had at different times bargained with them for at least eighteen pounds of gold dust, with many pieces of gold from Japan and Jedzo. He shewed me these different kinds of gold. That of Jedzo differs from the Japanese gold by its very pale colour. Csorni was of opinion that the Japanese never come to this island, unless forced by stress of weather.

18. Bouc, in 47 deg. 20 min. N. lat. and 359 deg. 53 min. long. from Bolsha. This island was visited in the year 1740 by the first expedition. They found very fine pearls; but if there were no finer than those I have seen, they are not worth going for.

19. Chevre, in 46 deg. 50 min. N. lat. and 1 deg. 34 min. long. from Bolsha. This island has few inhabitants and no harbour, neither does it possess any other advantage.

20. Marikan lies in 46 deg. 40 min. N. lat. and 359 deg. long. from Bolsha. Its length is thirteen leagues from N. to S. and its breadth is six. On the south-east coast of this island is a very fine harbour. It is inhabited by bearded Kurelles, whom the Russians call Machnati. An ore of red copper, containing a large

portion of gold, was found here in the year 1765. A vessel belonging to the company of a merchant, named Lapin, brought home more than one hundred quintals of this copper, but it was confiscated, on pretence that the permission of the governor extended no further than to the commerce of furs. The inhabitants of this island live together in society. They have cattle, hogs, poultry, &c. All these islanders are cloathed in the Chinese manner; their skin is of a bronze colour, and their food is rice and beef.

21. Bereza lies in 45 deg. 35 min. north latitude, and 358 deg. 20 min. longitude from Bolsha. It is of a triangular form, and has an excellent harbour on its north side. It is very thinly peopled, and its inhabitants employ themselves in the fishery of beavers and other sea animals, particularly the whale, with the oil of which they carry on a very advantageous trade with the islands of Jedzo, receiving in return gold, cloth, iron, and different utensils. The inhabitants cultivate rice on this island. Six other islands lie to the west-north-west of this, but they are merely rocks.

22. Good Hope, in 45 deg. 0 min. north latitude, and 356 deg. 30 min. longitude from Bolsha: Its length is 30 leagues from north to south, and it has two fine harbours, one on the north-east, and the other on the south-west side. In the southern part of the island there are two towns regularly built. In the year 1764 some inhabitants of this island arrived at Kamchatka, to conclude a treaty with the Russians. The acts of the chancery mention that these envoys presented three small sacks of leather or skin (cuir) filled with gold, and a garment made of birds feathers. These envoys were put on board the ship Elizabeth, in order to go to Petersburgh; but this ship foundered at sea. The island abounds in cattle, rice, and other vegetable productions. Ivan Csorni intended to have fixed his residence in this island. He estimated it

lation at 4000 males, capable of bearing arms, h are a kind of sabre, a lance and a bow. Several ian deserters live amongst them, and are greatly med. The climate is very temperate, and the air esome. At the distance of two leagues to the ward of this island the depth of water is thirty- fathom.

ne foregoing is the true situation of the Kurelles ds, in which I do not comprehend the islands of o, as the Russians usually do. For these last tioned islands are inhabited by a civilized people, have an established government. I shall therefore k of them separately, and shall shew that every g which has been written concerning the pretended or continent of Jdzo, company's land, &c. ought to nderstood of these islands of Jedzo.

## CHAPTER XXXVI

Every navigator, at a distance from [the Jedzo] islands, would suppose them to be one continued tract of land. This circumstance has led the Hollanders into the greatest mistakes; and the missionaries of China have given us so many fabulous relations concerning them, that it is scarcely possible to draw any conclusion. As my enquiries concerning them produced information grounded upon real discoveries, I shall proceed to give a description of them.

1. Kawith Jdzon, in 45 deg. 5 min. north latitude, and 353 deg. 0 min. longitude from Bolsha. This island is very populous, and has three very excellent harbours on its southern side. It is every where very well wooded, and in its southern part stands the town of Matza, which is built of wood. In this town resides a chief, subordinate to Kunaschir Jdzo, the sovereign of all the islands, who resides in the island Kunaschiran. The town consists of more than 2000 houses, and is defended by several small forts, constructed of wood, and surrounded by ditches. Silver and copper mines are wrought in this island, and here it is that the red pearls are fished, and are regularly, in the months of May and October, exchanged with the Japanese merchants, who arrive at those periods, for cloth, and other stuffs of silk, as well as for iron tools and arms.

The Japanese were formerly at war with the inhabitants of Jdzon, but, since the year 1762, peace seems to

be well established between them. These islanders have large barks, in which they sail to Korea, China, and Japan. In the year 1758, a Russian pilot, named Mastlow, who was shipwrecked on the Kurelles islands, was sold by the inhabitants to Kawith, and knew so well how to recommend himself to the favour of their chief, that he was promoted to the rank of Besales, or commander of the troops. This Mastlow, in the year 1768, wrote a letter to the governor of Kamchatka, in which he advised him to open a trade with this country. His letter came to hand by the way of the Kurelles, but the governor, being persuaded that it was a forged business of some of the Russian merchants, despised the invitation, and the cossack who brought the letter from the Kurelles was thrown into prison, and beat with the batogh as a reward for his zeal.

2. Csulgan Jdzon is situated in 43 deg. 27 min. north latitude, and 352 deg. 58 min. longitude from Bolsha. This island is twenty leagues in length from east to west, and six leagues in breadth from north to south. Captain Spanneberg, in the year 1741, was in sight of this island, but did not approach it. It is equal in fertility to Kawith, and its name is derived from a word denoting copper, with which it abounds. For Csulgu denotes copper. On the northern side of this island there is a town and harbour. The name of the town is Tchouppou Jdzon, which denotes the town of the Sun.

3. Maànas Jdzon lies in 44 deg. 0 min. north latitude, and 351 deg. 0 min. longitude from Bolsha. Its length from north-east to south-west is thirty-eight leagues, and its breadth is from twelve to seventeen leagues. In the year 1743, a pilot, named Novodzikow, who is still living at Kamchatka, landed on this island in a Bajdara. He informed me, that he had received, in exchange for an old hat, two pieces of gold struck with a mark, which weighed together two ounces and a half. I verified this fact by consulting the registers of the chancery. The

two pieces were sent to Petersburgh. This Novodzikow was very civilly received, and dismissed by the inhabitants; but a short time afterwards Lieutenant Walton came to the island, with a double shallop, and some excesses, committed by his crew, occasioned them all to be cut off. There is likewise a very good harbour and town on the south-side of the island; this last is called Ouratilkiva Jdzon, or red town; it is well peopled, carries on a brisk trade, and is subject to Kunaschir.

4. Kunaschir Jdzon, called by the Russians Zelenoiostrow, or green island, is situated in 42 deg. 30 min. north latitude, and 350 deg. 35 min. longitude from Bolsha. It extends from north-east to south-west sixty-five leagues in length, and its breadth varies from twenty-eight to twelve leagues. On the northern part of the island is a very excellent harbour; into the bottom of which runs a fine river, though shallow. Several bays on the western coast afford a very good pearl fishery. The principal town on this island is called Kunashiran, in which the king of the country resides. There are several other towns of less magnitude on this island: Kunashir Matza, on the south-west side of the island; Kunashiraapi in the centre; and Kunashir Orgutt on the eastern coast. The relations of Spanneberg affirm, that he saw more than two hundred vessels or boats off the island.

In the year 1769 the court of Petersburgh sent to the islands Jedzo two young men, named Antippe Tartarino and Ottlasow, who had learned a few Japanese words at Irkuczk; but no news was heard of them during the whole time of my stay in these parts. The best founded notion that I could obtain of this island is, that it is regularly governed by a king; that strangers on their arrival are obliged to establish themselves there by marriage, and are carefully watched. It is evident that their riches must be immense, and their force, consisting of armed men, considerable; since this island

proved able to resist the emperor of Japan for a series of years.

5. Fiassi Kamoni Jdzon, or health of God, is situated in 41 deg. 10 min. north latitude, and 348 deg. 0 min. longitude from Bolsha. This island is very populous, and its government is regularly administered, subject to Kunaschir. Horses have been seen on this island. The inhabitants are always in arms on account of their differences with the Koreans, notwithstanding which the commerce between these two nations is carried on without interruption, through the medium of the island of Matzumay. There are two towns on this island, one to the south and the other to the west.

6. Matzumay is situated in 41 deg. 30 min. north latitude, and 347 deg. longitude from Bolsha. Its length from north-east to south-west is forty leagues, and its breadth from east to west is twenty-seven leagues. This island has two good harbours, one on the north and the other on the south side. It is intersected by several fine rivers. The capital town is on the west part of the island, and likewise bears the name of Matzumay. This island has been conquered by the Japanese, who maintain a garrison of three thousand men here, besides which there are more than fourteen hundred Japanese exiles, condemned to the works. Most of the natives of the island retired to Kunashir after the conquest.

The Dutch company, in the year 1754, proposed to the Emperor of Japan to make a voyage to the northward of his country, under his good pleasure, and to conquer the islands of Jedzo: but the Emperor was so far from accepting their proposal, that he forbad the Hollanders to think of it, on pain of being excluded from their commerce.

The foregoing short detail contains all that can be said or written, consistently with truth, concerning the pretended land of Jedzo, or company's land.

## CHAPTER XXXVII

The gulph of Uda, formed by cape Allangaddi, situated in 54 deg. 10 min. north latitude, and 345 deg. 15 min. longitude from Bolsha; and extending to the northward of the entrance of the river Amour, is filled with small islands which shut up its entrance.

The mouth of the river Amour lies in 52 deg. 50 min. north latitude, and 346 deg. 0 min. longitude from Bolsha. The Koreans call this river Saghalin, and its course extends near five hundred leagues into the country. It is capable of receiving vessels of the greatest burden. Its entrance is due south, in which are fifteen small islands forming a bay, which abounds in pearls. The southern part of this bay is Cape Vasitua, in 52 deg. 20 min. north latitude, and 347 deg. 5 min. longitude from Bolsha. The importance of this river to Russia is of the highest magnitude; for by means of one of its branches a communication may be had with Mandschou, and by the second as far as Teissou, situated on the gulph of Pekin.

Saghalin island lies to the eastward of the entrance of the river Amour: the center of the island is in 52 deg. 0 min. north latitude, and 349 deg. 0 min. longitude, from Bolsha. Its length from north to south is sixty-nine leagues, and its breadth from east to west from fifteen to twenty leagues. It is intersected by several rivers, and has excellent bays and

harbours. In the year 1761 there were reckoned four small towns inhabited by the Gilakes, an independent people, who trade with the Russians and Koreans. This island produces the most beautiful furs, which are sables and foxes skins. The northern part is mountainous and wild, but the country to the southward is beautiful. To the northward of this island is another small island called the Glass Island, (du Verre) in 54 deg. 30 min. north latitude, and 350 deg. 0 min. longitude from Bolsha. It abounds with talc, but is a desert.

## *A CONTINUATION*

OF THE

# MEMOIRS OF THE COUNT DE BENYOWSKY:

Being a JOURNAL of his Voyage by Sea, from the Peninsula of Kamchatka to Canton in China.

ON the 11th of May, 1771, I went on board the corvette St. Peter and St. Paul, in the port of Bolsha, where I made the following distributions for the sea service, and caused twenty ports to be cut in the side of the vessel for cannon, twelve of which were of wood.

Myself, Count de Benyowsky, Commander in Chief.
Count Crustiew second.

## QUARTERS.

| *After Guard.* | *Forecastle.* |
|---|---|
| Mr. Panow, | Mr. Wynbladth, |
| Mr. Kuzneczow, | Mr. Stephanow, |
| Mr. Zablikow, | Mr. Meder, |
| Mr. Popow, | Mr. Ismailow, |
| Mr. Loginow, | Mr. Boscarew, |
| Mr. Csurin, | Mr. Kostromin, |
| Mr. Urbanowsky, | Mr. Gurcsinin, |

## SHIP'S COMPANY AND ARMAMENT

| | |
|---|---|
| Mr. Contrathimaitre, | Mr. Baturin, |
| 29 Hunters, fore-mast men. | 28 Private men, serving before the mast. |
| 37 persons. | 36 persons. |

Total, 75 doing duty.

9 Women, and
12 Passengers, } 21

On the whole, 96.

### Armament of the Corvette.

96 Persons, including 9 women,
8 Pieces of cannon,
2 Howitzers,
2 Mortars for bombs,
120 Muskets with bayonets,
80 Sabres,
60 Pistols,
1,600 lb. of gunpowder,
200 lb. Weight of bullets,
800 lb. Salted flesh,
1,200 lb. Salted fish,
3,000 lb. Dried fish,
1,400 lb. Whale oil,
200 lb. Sugar,
500 lb. Tea,
4,000 lb. Damaged flour,
40 lb. Butter,
113 lb. Cheese,
6,000 lb. Different pieces of iron work,
120 Grenades,
900 Cannon ball,
50 lb. Sulphur,
200 lb. Saltpetre,

1,200 lb. —— * (the word wanting in the manuscript.)
36 Butts of water,
126 Chests of furs,
14 Anchors, and sundry cordage, with change of sails,
One shallop and one canoe.

The corvette drawing eight feet eleven inches and eight feet five inches of water.

At eleven in the forenoon I caused divine service to be celebrated, according to the rites of the Greek church. Te Deum was chaunted, and afterwards the whole company renewed their oath of obedience to my orders: at five in the evening dropped down the river and moored at the entrance.

Thursday, the 12th of May, weighed anchor, and after setting the hostages at liberty, sailed out of the harbour on a southern course. A very light breeze from north-north-west.

The day being hazy, and almost calm, anchored on the bank: depth of water from three fathoms and a quarter to three and a half; coarse greenish sand. At four o'clock a breeze springing up, set sail, and passed between the two banks. The vessel stuck in a floating piece of ice, which we broke by firing a cannon against it. From the quarter-master's report, all well, six inches water in the hold, at two hours and a half. Latitude sailed from, 52 degrees, 32 minutes; longitude sailed from, 359 degrees, 0 minutes; latitude in, 51 degrees 34 minutes; longitude in, 358 degrees, 36 minutes from Bolsha; wind north-north-west; current from south to north; course south.

Friday, May the 13th, close cloudy weather, with a strong breeze from north-north-west, soundings from 16 to 24 fathom; fine greenish sand. A heavy sea from the north-west. We held on our course to the

* Most probably Charcoal.

southward, in the evening reefed our top-sails. At day-break we discovered the rock Alayd to the westward. At nine A.M. a consultation was held respecting the course to be sailed. I proposed to moor near one of the Kurelles islands, to collect some provisions and bake bread; and the company declared their readiness to acquiesce in whatever I might judge proper.

According to the quarter-master's report, every one on board in good health. Latitude sailed from, 51 degrees, 34 minutes; longitude sailed from, 358 degrees, 36 minutes; latitude in, 50 degrees, 27 minutes; longitude in, 359 degrees, 15 minutes, from Bolsha. Wind north-north-west; current from north to south; course south-south-east.

Saturday, May the 14th, among the Kurelles islands, close hazy weather, with snow, and a considerable irregular swell. Saw several whales pursued by the sword-fish. A very strong current observed from north to south; kept on a south-south-east course, having two islands in sight: that on the larboard bearing south-south-east, and on the starboard south-west one quarter south. The sight of these islands occasioned some disturbance; for several of the company requested me to come to an anchor; and as they thought proper to threaten me upon my not attending to their demand, I put two under confinement, and determined not to come to anchor at the Kurelles islands, for fear of some mutinous consequences. In the middle of the channel between these two islands our soundings were 23 fathom, fine sand, and greenish coral. About six in the evening the wind increased; shortened sail during the night, and at day-break discovered a bajdara or boat of the country, which made for the shore at sight of us. Many birds in sight, flying from south to north. Latitude sailed from, 50 degrees, 27 minutes north; longitude sailed from, 359 degrees, 13 minutes; latitude in, 50 degrees, 15 minutes; longitude in, 0 degrees,

30 minutes, from Bolsha. Wind west; current from north to south; course south-east, 19 degrees, 37 minutes.

Sunday, May the 15th, close foggy weather; a strong steady breeze, with a great swell of the sea in the evening; carried away the end of the main-yard. People employed making okum and small cordage. Observed some floating weed and some whales.

According to the quarter-master's report, the whole company in good health. One butt of water started. Latitude sailed from, 50 degrees, 15 minutes; longitude sailed from, 0 degrees, 30 minutes; latitude in, 51 degrees 21 minutes; longitude in, 3 degrees, 54 minutes, from Bolsha. Wind west; current from south-west to north-east; course north-east, 57 degrees, 39 minutes.

Monday, May the 16th, close cloudy weather with much snow; variable winds. This day Ismailow was accused of having made a seditious proposal to the two Kamchadales; he was ordered into confinement upon bread and water.

According to the report, six men and one woman sick; latitude sailed from, 51 degrees, 21 minutes; longitude sailed from, 3 degrees 54 minutes; latitude in, 52 degrees 34 minutes; longitude in, 5 degrees, 30 minutes, from Bolsha. Wind west; current from south to north; course north-east one quarter north.

Tuesday, May the 17th, weather somewhat clear, with uncertain winds, the sun appearing at intervals. Towards evening rain and snow; took several cod-fish; saw whales swimming from south to north, with several flights of birds from east to west. In the night the wind freshened with a considerable swell of the sea.

According to the report, four persons sick; latitude sailed from, 52 degrees, 34 minutes; longitude sailed from, 5 degrees, 30 minutes; latitude in, 54 degrees 15 minutes north; longitude in, 6 degrees, 58 minutes,

from Bolsha. Wind west one quarter north; current from south to north; course north-east.

Wednesday, May the 18th, close foggy weather, with snow and rain; great quantities of floating weed round the ship, of which we collected a quantity, to serve in case of necessity; saw several black eagles; employed this day in repairing the shallop and small boat, and cleaning our arms.

According to the report, four persons sick; latitude sailed from, 54 degrees, 15 minutes; longitude sailed from, 6 degrees 58 minutes; latitude in, 55 degrees 19 minutes north; longitude in, 7 deg. 54 minutes from Bolsha. Wind west; current from south-east to north-west; course north, one quarter east.

Thursday, May the 19th, the isle Beering in sight; hazy weather. By a good observation I determined the latitude of this island to be 55 degrees, 15 minutes north, and its longitude 8 degrees, 0 minutes, from Bolsha. I came to an anchor, at the distance of half a league from the western coast, in 28 fathom water, coarse sand and shells. As soon as we had brought to, I sent the small boat with Mr. Panow and ten armed associates, to examine the island, with orders, that when they had found a place of shelter, to let me know by three fires, and send the canoe immediately for me; but in case they found any vessel in the harbour or road, they were directed to come back without landing. After his departure I hove up the anchor, and suffered the vessel to drive towards the island. At the distance of a quarter of a league the wind slackened, and forced me to come to. We soon observed the signal, and approached a bay, in which I found a very good bottom at 50 fathom; the small boat having come back, was sent to take the soundings, after which we moored in 8 fathom water.

According to the report, two sick; latitude sailed from, 55 degrees, 19 minutes; longitude sailed from,

7 degrees, 54 minutes; latitude in, 55 degrees, 19 minutes north; longitude in, 8 degrees, 0 min. from Bolsha. Wind south and calm; current from south to north; course north and east.

Friday, May the 20th, at anchor in a bay on the coast of the island of Beering, the weather fine and calm. Although Mr. Panow had assured me that he found no person upon the island, I nevertheless sent a party to make discoveries, and sent another party on shore to construct a cabin and ovens, to bake our bread. Having determined to go on shore myself, I gave orders for cleaning the tiers, and airing our provisions; after which I embarked in the small boat with six of the associates, and made a sketch of the bay.

When I came on shore I had a tent set up, and about five in the evening the party who had been sent upon discovery, returned, and related, that at the distance of a league from the bay they had discovered a cabin in which they found a dog, and underneath a tub a letter, which they brought me. Mr. Kuzneczow, the commander of the party, assured me, that he had likewise found four barrels of whale oil in the cabin, with ten or twelve quintals of salted fish. He added, that, in his opinion, there were certainly people upon the island, because he had observed recent traces on the snow and a bath newly constructed. To clear up my doubts I read the letter, which is as follows:

"Health to all those who may arrive on this island.
"I inform them that the ship Elizabeth, which left the
"port of Ochoczk in the year 1769, under my command,
"remained at this island a whole year, after having
"received much damage by tempests. After this long
"stay, being assured that all our attempts to put her
"into a situation to carry us home were useless, we
"broke her up, and built boats out of her materials, in
"which I am about to proceed on a voyage towards the
"island, which lies to the eastward, in hopes of finding

" some vessel, in which myself and crew may return.
" Written January 24, 1771.

" Ivan Ochotyn, Captain.
" Baltasa Balakirow, Pilot."

On the southern part of the island Mr. Kuzneczow found likewise five crosses erected, one of which bore the following inscription:

"To the honour of God and St. Nicholas, in the year " 1769, on the 28th of April, this cross was erected by " Peter Kreniczin, commander of the expedition sent " for the discovery of California."

This last discovery was not of any consequence, but the discovery of a species of turnips and very good garlick was extremely useful to us, as well as the provision of salted fish and whale oil. With respect to the letter, after mature examination, I was convinced that the writing was fresh: several reflections led me to recollect, that I had often heard speak of this Ochotyn, who was reported at Ochoczk to have become a pirate. To clear up my doubts, I enquired of my companions whether any of them knew Ochotyn, and several of them immediately informed me, that Ochotyn was not a Russian, and that having seized the ship he commanded, and persuaded his crew to follow his fortune, he had settled in the Aleuthes islands, where during the last two years he had taken other Russian ships, whose crews had placed themselves under his command: so that the number of Europeans under him must amount to more than one hundred, besides that a number of the islanders had nominated him their chief. Upon this information I concluded, that Ochotyn, or at least some of his party, were on the island; in consequence of which I chose five of our company, whom I sent out separately, well armed and supplied with provision, and likewise a letter of invitation addressed to Ochotyn or the people of his party: to prevent any unlucky mischance, I gave orders for a strict look out both on shore and on board.

According to the report, the whole company in good health.

Saturday, the 21st, at Beering's island, in the bay St. Maurice, so named by my companions; fine weather, and the snow melting. This day the flour was brought on shore, and we began to bake bread in five ovens we had built. My companions built me a commodious cabin. This day I dispatched twenty-two of the people to carry the salted fish and whale oil on board: six men were sent to cut wood, and the carpenter Nikita repaired the main yard. In the evening sent on board twenty-four barrels of fresh water, four cords of fire-wood, and part of the salted fish, with a cask of garlick, and a quantity of roots. The night passed without disturbance, but at five in the morning I was awakened by Mr. Crustiew, who informed me that he had heard several shots fired to the southward of the island. I immediately went out of my cabin, and heard several other successive reports; on which I gave immediate orders to beat an alarm, and was joined by twenty of the people from on board. To discover what had happened, as well as to assist those who had been dispatched the evening before, I gave orders to Mr. Wynbladth to embark with sixteen men in the shallop, and proceed to the southern point of the bay, in order to observe more easily from whence the noise might proceed. After having dispatched him, I left the command to Mr. Crustiew, and embarked in the small boat myself with eight of our people. We soon passed the shallop, and on our arrival at the south point I perceived a bajdara, which rowed towards us, with five people on board. On their approach we perceived they were Russians, and one of them hallowed, and told us that he had a letter for the commander of the corvette St. Peter. They soon came up with us, and gave me the letter, which I read, and proposed to them to come on board my vessel. They agreed to this, and declared

that their general had ordered them to come on board, which they accordingly did at ten o'clock precisely.

On my arrival I found my people in the greatest confusion. Mr. Stephanow informed me that he had discovered a mutiny, by means of Alexi Andreanow. Upon examination I heard that Mr. Ismailow, with his friend Zablikow and fifteen others, had entered into an oath to seize the first opportunity, when the greatest part of the people should be on shore and myself on board, to secure my person, and afterwards return to Kamchatka; but, in case they could not carry this project into effect, that they should assassinate me, set fire to the vessel, and quit the island in the shallop. The deposition of Andreanow was confirmed by Popow and Rabalow. I therefore immediately armed those persons on whom I could place the most dependence, and afterwards mustered the whole company, to whom I exposed the authors of the plot. These were immediately put in irons, and carried on shore to be tried by a council which I nominated, and over which Mr. Crustiew was appointed to preside. After this business was finished, I directed my attention to shew every civility to the persons who brought Mr. Ochotyn's letter.

According to the report, one person sick and nineteen prisoners.

Sunday, May the 22d, in the bay of St. Maurice, at Beerings isle; weather squally, with rain; wind southwest. At three o'clock my adjutant presented to me a memorial in the name of the whole company, requesting that Mr. Ismailow and the Kamchadale Parenczin, with his wife, should be set on shore, and abandoned in the island, and that the others, who had been seduced by them, should be punished with fifty lashes, and afterwards restored to their functions, first renewing their oath of obedience. I complied with this general request the more willingly, as it was an object of great

consequence to give an example and establish my authority by this proceeding. After I had sent my orders on shore in writing to Mr. Crustiew, I communicated the contents of the letter I had received to the whole company; it was as follows:

"Health to the brave and intrepid commander of the "vessel St. Peter and all his company.

"Dear friends and companions, we heard with much "joy of your happy arrival on this island. The men "whom you sent to find us have informed us of your "whole intentions, and we have detained them less as "hostages than as friends, whom we are desirous of "sending back with provisions, which you must be in "want of. Permit our companions who bring this "letter to go on board your ship; it is probable they "may meet with some acquaintance, which would be "very agreeable to us. We entreat the commander to "inform us, whether he thinks proper to consent to a "conference with us, and for this purpose we pray that "he will send back our companions, and inform us of "the place of rendezvous. We wish you all prosperity, "and recommend ourselves to your friendship. Adieu.

"JEAN OCHOTYN,

"in the name of the company."

After having heard the different opinions respecting what was the most proper to be done, I determined to send back one of the five with my answer, and to keep the other four until the return of my own people. My letter was conceived in the following terms:

"I cannot express the satisfaction which I received "from the information of your residence on this island. "The conduct and behaviour of the famous Ochotyn "have secured him my esteem for this year past, and "nothing prevents my seeing him and assuring him of "my friendship.

"Do not attribute the precautions which I require "for our interview to mistrust; but persuade yourself

" that an excess of prudence is hurtful only to men who " are destitute of courage. I require therefore, that " to-morrow, at six o'clock, Mr. Ochotyn shall repair " with four of his people to the southern point of the " bay, where I will come at the same hour, with an " equal number; as soon as we come in sight of each " other, we will lay down our arms and join company.

" Maurice August."

This day was employed in carrying on board the biscuit which our people had made out of the damaged flour. Towards the evening, I permitted six of our associates to go on a hunting expedition, with orders to return at six in the morning. Mr. Meder returned on board, and brought with him several nuts and some pieces of camphor wood, which had been wrought; he found these on the shore. About eleven o'clock we found the cable was cut, and weighed the anchor with great difficulty. At five in the morning I fired three guns, and leaving the command of the vessel in the hands of Mr. Panow, I embarked in the shallop with four associates. At three quarters after five I arrived at the point, where I found Mr. Ochotyn on shore, by whom I was very politely received. He was a handsome figure, thirty-six years of age, and spoke very good German and French. After the first civilities he related his history and adventures, which deserve a particular narration. I shall confine myself, however, to the substance, which is as follows:

Mr. Ochotyn was a man of family in Saxony, and served under the Empress Elizabeth, in the rank of captain, in the regiment of Smolenskoi, which he left for the employment of Adjutant to General Apraxin. When that General was arrested, by order of the Empress, he was himself likewise sent to prison, with Mr. Baron Klusewsky, who is still an exile at Jakutzk, under the name of Fiskin. Mr. Ochotyn was not delivered from prison until he was sent as an exile into

Siberia. On his arrival at Jakutzk, he obtained the favour of being sent to Ochoczk, where he engaged himself on board a ship fitted out for catching beavers. He made two voyages in this vessel, but, during the third, having secured the attachment of fifty of the crew, he seized the vessel at the Aleuthes islands, with which he made prize of two others, whose crews joined his fortune. His party at first consisted of one hundred and thirty-four determined men, able to contend with the maritime force of Ochoczk. Eighteen months afterwards he had the good fortune to establish himself on one of the largest of the Aleuthes islands, where he formed connections, by means of the marriages of his companions with the girls of the country. The dependence he could place on the friendship of the natives of these islands had determined him to form colonies; but, as he was without the necessary arms and utensils, he had determined to visit Kamchatka and Ochoczk, with the intention of utterly destroying these two establishments, and carrying off every thing which he might find suitable to his purposes.

After he had finished his explanation, he proposed to me to join forces in the execution of this project of eminent vengeance, which we had both equal reasons for being desirous of. In answer to this direct proposal, I replied, that I was highly mortified that it was not in my power to comply with his intentions, because my situation required a speedy return to Europe; besides which, I represented to him that his present force was sufficient to insure the success of his enterprize. But as he was determined to form colonies in the islands, I advised him to address himself to some European power, to obtain their support; for which purpose I offered him my services. These reflections appeared reasonable to him, and he accepted my offers, as I shall notice more amply in its place. On my part, I gave him a faithful account of my adventures, and we swore friend-

ship to each other. After which, we separated; he to join his companions, and myself to return on board, where I found every thing in perfect order.

N. B. The family of Mr. Ochotyn is known in Saxony by the name of Leuchtenfeld, and he referred, in proof of his assertion, to Baron Laffert, a Prussian officer, who was exiled to Kolima, and returned to Europe in 1760, in consequence of the pressing reclamation which was made by his Majesty the King of Prussia.

Monday May the 23d, 1771, in the bay St. Maurice, in Beering's Island, clear weather, wind S. W. the whole day was employed in repairing the vessel. At three o'clock a canoe arrived from Mr. Ochotyn, with a present of one hundred and fifty fine beaver skins, in return for which I sent him two hundred pounds of gunpowder, one hundred pounds of lead, and a considerable quantity of iron work, &c. but the most acceptable present to Mr. Ochotyn's people was, two hundred and forty ells of cloth and twenty-five sacks of flour.

In the evening I sent on board twenty-two sacks of biscuit and two casks of salt fish. In the night I visited Mr. Ochotyn, in company with Mr. Panow; we found six cabins well built, and defended by a pallisade, flanked with four small cannon. He was seated near a fire, with thirty-five associates. Tea was first served up, and afterwards we employed the whole night in conversation, and in drawing up letters, which he gave me, with a view to determine some European power to assist his projects. At day break I took my leave, and returned on board at eight o'clock. At ten, I assembled the whole company, and proposed quitting the island to continue our voyage to China, from which place we might most conveniently return to Europe. Upon this proposal, the company requested time to consider, and their resolution was postponed till the following day.

According to the report, the whole company in good health.

Tuesday May 24th, in the bay of St. Maurice, at the isle of Beering, foggy weather, wind disposed to squalls from the southward. At two in the afternoon my adjutant presented three deputies from the company, who informed me, that the resolution of the society was taken, and that they were determined to seek a passage to the northward of Kamchatka, as the season, being summer, assured our success, and even supposing we should find insurmountable obstacles, we should be always able to reach the continent of America. To this representation, as I had understood from my intimate friends that the company was resolved to follow their plan in spite of me, I consented, because unwilling openly to oppose their decision. For a great part of the company, after having reflected on what had happened at Kamchatka, might probably have repented, and have been disposed to act treacherously towards me, as the neighbourhood of Kamchatka would facilitate all their attempts.

In the evening I received advice from Mr. Ochotyn, that Mr. Stephanow had written to him, acquainting him, that he himself, together with a party of our associates, were resolved to enter into his troop; in consequence of which Mr. Ochotyn advised me to quit the island as soon as possible, and assured me, that in case of a revolt, he would assist me in punishing the guilty. I mustered the whole company, and declared to them that I should not follow their plan but with regret, as I was persuaded, that it would lead us into misfortunes, which it was now in our power to avoid. I assured them that I did not think it possible to double the cape Tsukcsi, and that, when the easterly monsoon failed, we might find it impossible to reach the coast of America; but that as I was determined to sacrifice my private opinions to the wish of the company, which should at all times be my law, I would satisfy their expectation, though at the same time I

thought it necessary to warn the society, that I had well-founded reasons to suspect that some among them were engaged in a design prejudicial to our common interests, and that I forbore mentioning the leaders, merely with the hope that it would cause them to return to their duty, and that they ought to attribute my lenity to this motive. Being thus determined to quit the island with the first wind, I sent a party on shore to erect a cross with the following inscription:

"May the 24th, 1771. Maurice August Aladar de "Benyowsky, after his happy deliverance from exile at "Kamchatka, caused this cross to be erected during "his stay at this island."

At ten o'clock Mr. Stephanow asked leave to speak with me in private. When I had admitted him into my cabin, he informed me that he had discovered a plot against me, and that he was resolved to quit me no more, but look to my preservation. I expressed my surprize at this, and freely declared, that if I had apprehended any thing, I should have arrested him the first, as I had sufficient proofs against him; but that as I was not of a timid disposition, he was indebted, for his safety, to my contempt. After this answer I communicated the letter of Mr. Ochotyn to him, and informed him, that I should be disposed to forget every thing, and would not ask him even to name his accomplices, provided he shewed a proper repentance, and gave me no occasion to recollect his criminal disposition, and, as a proof how far my delicacy to him proceeded, I would promise to keep his behaviour a profound secret, lest he should be universally despised, upon its being known. The firmness with which I spoke to him overcame him, and he threw himself at my feet, acknowledging himself guilty, and imploring my forgiveness, which I granted.

According to the report, all well.

Wednesday, May the 25th, close cloudy weather;

the island covered with fogs; wind variable, between south and west; A south-south-west wind in the offing. Set sail. At three hoisted in the shallop and small boat, and directed our course to the northward. In the evening the wind changed from south to east. In the morning the northernmost point of the island bore from east to east, one quarter south.

According to the report, all well; latitude in, 55 degrees, 58 minutes; longitude from Bolsha, 7 degrees, 56 minutes. Wind south, south-south-west and south-south-east; current south-east; course north.

Thursday, May the 26th, clear weather, with snow at intervals, but freezing. A heavy swell from south-west. In the evening saw some pieces of floating wood with ice upon them. At the close of the night saw several flights of birds, directing their course from north to south. During the whole night the sky was clear, and the stars shone bright, but the cold increased and began to freeze our rigging. At day-break we were surrounded with floating wood and pieces of ice. About ten o'clock a whale, of a very large size, came so near us, that I was obliged to fire at it. The second ball caused it to dive.

According to the report, all in good health; latitude in, 57 degrees, 45 minutes, north; longitude from Bolsha, 7 degrees, 54 minutes. Wind south-west; current from south to north; course north.

Friday, May the 27th, under sail. Clear weather and excessive cold, wind strong and irregular, with a very heavy sea. Our vessel struck several times against ice-drifts, of enormous magnitude, the surface of which was covered with wood. In the evening we were set fast between two ice-drifts, which floated in the direction of the vessel; the pitching of the ship caused a considerable damage to her fore parts against the ice; during the night we had a sudden squall, which threatened us with instant destruction. The

violent pressure of the ice against the vessel, (the creaking noise of whose timbers greatly added to our apprehensions) produced a considerable leak, which occasioned us to pump without ceasing. In the morning we found our sails damaged and entirely frozen, for which reason I gave orders to keep a fire constantly at the foot of each mast upon the deck, which was likewise covered with ice, two inches thick. By this means I succeeded in thawing the sails. About ten o'clock, the ice-drift on the starboard side broke away, and we disengaged ourselves from that on the larboard.

According to the report, all in good health; cleared the well of thirteen inches of water; latitude in, 58 degrees, 0 minutes; longitude in, 9 degrees, 59 minutes; wind south-west; current from south-west to north-east; course east-north-east.

Saturday, May the 28th, clear weather without snow, but insupportably cold. A strong irregular wind, with a heavy swell from north-north-east; got down the damaged yards and replaced them by others. At three o'clock observed a vessel to the northward, at three leagues distant. In the evening hove the lead, and found no bottom. In the night the weather was exceedingly clear and cold. The wind freshened, and the ship made good way. At day-break saw land; at eleven o'clock I gave directions to make a sketch of its appearance, and, though I was embarrassed by the disagreement of the Russian charts, I took it for cape Apachazana. Latitude in 59 degrees, 0 minutes; longitude in 13 degrees, 20 minutes; wind west-south-west; current from north to south; course east-north-east.

Sunday, May the 29th, a strong breeze and close cloudy weather, with a heavy swell from north-west, which frequently endangered us by driving large pieces of ice against the vessel. The considerable masses of

these ice-drifts formed whole mountains around us, and threatened us with inevitable destruction, for the vessel being struck every instant by them was strongly agitated, and large masses of ice freezing to the ship's sides, and occasionally lifted out of the water by her motion, damaged her on all sides. Every roll was followed by an astonishing noise, occasioned by the rupture of these icy appendages. Our fears were greatly augmented by the increase of the water in the hold, and during the night, the whole company were alarmed even to stupefaction. About four in the morning the wind increased, and carried away our sprit-sail-yard; and about five we lost our foretop-mast. At six o'clock the vessel lay down on the larboard side, and the tiller could not be moved. Luckily for us, however, the arrival of day-light enabled us to see that part of the ice was jammed in between the rudder and the stern-post. I sent two of the company to beat it away, and afterwards we righted the vessel. It was very fortunate that this accident did not happen in the night, as in that case we should have been lost without remedy. About noon the wind abated, and we perceived ourselves at the distance of two leagues and a half off shore, of which I took a view.

At seven hours and a half we had twenty-two inches water in the hold, which we cleared.

According to the report three sick. Latitude in, 59 degrees, 10 minutes; longitude in, 14 degrees, 34 minutes; wind west-north-west; current from north-east to south-west; course east, one quarter north.

Monday, May the 30th, close cloudy weather. The wind veered round to the south-east, with louring weather in the north-east quarter; hove the lead occasionally, and at five got ground at eighty-five fathom; grey sand, and broken shells. The sea covered with ice-drifts.

At nine Mr. Crustiew requested the meeting of

committee, in the name of the company, which I immediately complied with. As soon as the associates were assembled they requested me to continue our course no longer towards the north, as they were convinced that it would be attended with our destruction. This occasion gave me ample matter to reproach them for the little confidence they had shewn me, in compelling me to hold this course. I thought it necessary to represent to them the many unhappy consequences which would result from my being exposed a second time to submit to their pleasure. The dreadful objects which had alarmed them the preceding day, were still present around us, and gave every degree of efficacy to my discourse: I therefore found no difficulty in obtaining from the whole company a promise, that in future they would leave me at liberty to do whatever I might think proper and advantageous. As a mark of my satisfaction, I gave orders for an extraordinary allowance of brandy to be given them. At ten o'clock Mr. Panow informed me, that several of our associates were resolved to quit us at the first place where we might anchor. This discovery was immediately verified by the appearance of four of them, who demanded, in the name of a party, the number of which they refused to declare, to go on shore, under pretence of making a provision of beavers, whose skins might be of service to them on future occasions. The resolute manner in which these deputies made their demand, gave me reason to fear a mutiny, which threatened to be so much more dangerous, as we were in sight of land adjoining to Kamchatka. For this reason after having requested they would wait a moment for my resolution, I ordered Mr. Wynbladth to collect a party of such associates as we could most depend on, and come with them into my cabin, while Mr. Panow might overlook the movements of all those, whom we had reason to suspect. This order was immediately put in execution,

and, directly afterwards, I caused the mutineers to be seized, and gave orders for a council to be held in the afternoon for their examination.

According to the report, five sick, four prisoners. At six we had eighteen inches water in the well, which we cleared. Latitude in, 59 degrees, 40 minutes; longitude in, 16 degrees, 45 minutes; wind south-south-west; current from north to south; course north-east, one quarter east.

Tuesday, May the 31st, clear weather and a strong wind, which permitted us to use only our lower sails: the sea covered with ice-drifts. At two P. M. assembled the council, to examine the prisoners. Andreanow declared that their number was twenty-two, and that Mr. Stephanow was probably at their head, though he could not positively affirm it, as he had not heard him mentioned except by Sacharinow, which the latter denied. The council advised calling all hands, after which I stated the fact, and requested their advice on this occasion. Their resolution was unanimous to punish the criminals severely, and, if the author could be discovered, to throw him into the sea. In consequence of their resolution, those whom I had reason to suspect as chiefs of the plot, were condemned to receive each twenty-five lashes; and the others, upon expressing their sorrow, were discharged, after asking pardon of the company. But, as I had just cause to fear the consequences of this mutiny, I took away their arms. Mr. Panow, irritated against his relation, whom he found always busied in caballing, declared to him, that he was determined to put him to death himself, on the first similar occasion. This declaration, made in the presence of the whole company, produced an admirable effect.

In the evening I was alarmed by an outcry and tumult upon deck, occasioned by Sacharinow, the friend of Stephanow, who threatened to kill Sibeaw;

but as Mr. Crustiew was present he caused Sacharinow to be seized and put in irons.

The night was clear, but the cold was so intense that all the water in the hold was frozen. Happily for us the wind had driven away the ice. At ten we saw several whales swimming from north to south. At eleven punished Sacharinow with 50 lashes.

According to report, eleven sick; three water-casks burst. Cleared the well of sixteen inches of water, at six A. M. Latitude in, 61 degrees, 37 minutes: longitude in, 19 degrees, 3 minutes; wind south-east; current from the north; course north-north-east.

Wednesday, June the 1st, cloudy weather and foggy, with cold. Few drifts, but the ship surrounded with floating wood. Saw several flight of birds called Urille. These are all over white except the head, the extremities of the wings and the tail, which are black. The beak and feet are of a deep yellow. They came so near us that I shot two, and found them as large as ducks, and their flesh of a tolerable good taste. Towards night the wind freshened, and veered to the southward; it was so strong that I could set only the lower sails. At day-break sounded, and got ground at forty-eight fathoms, sand and shells. At ten, land in sight, bearing east, one quarter south, which we soon after perceived to be an island. As we saw another cape bearing north-east one quarter north, I determined to pass between them, heaving the lead. The depth of water was from twenty-four to thirty-six fathoms. At noon the cape bore north, one quarter west, and the island south.

According to report thirteen sick, the ship making no water. Latitude in, 62 degrees, 0 minutes; longitude in, 22 degrees, 36 minutes. Wind south-south-east; current from north-west to south-east; course north-east.

Thursday, June the 2d, variable weather, with snow.

A fresh breeze from south to south-south-west, with a heavy sea. Handed the courses, and kept only the mizen and the top-sails set all the night. Saw several sea-wolves and whales. At day-break we were surrounded with ice-drifts, upon which we saw a very great number of land birds. The sounding line was several times cut asunder by the ice. Weather colder than before.

According to report thirteen sick. Cleared the well from nine to four inches of water. Latitude in, 63 degrees, 30 minutes; longitude in, 25 degrees, 4 minutes. Wind south-south-west; current from north to south; course north-east.

Friday, June the 3d, at three P. M. saw a very thick field of ice, to which a large mass of earth was attached, with shrubs growing on it. I immediately gave orders to sound, and had ground at seventy-four fathoms, coarse sand and shells. The wind freshened at intervals, and it snowed almost continually. Towards evening the wind slackened a little, but soon after came on with redoubled fury and impetuosity. A hurricane arose in the south-west quarter, and blew with such violence that we had small hopes of beholding the break of day. The dashing of the ice against the vessel was so frequent that I expected every moment her sides would have been bulged. Happily I had the precaution to lower our yards and the top-masts; the mizen-mast was carried away. At the break of day the hurricane greatly increased, when on a sudden we perceived, at the distance of a league, a reef upon which the sea broke in a most dreadful manner. The return of day shewed us more clearly the danger we had passed, by the discovery of masses of ice of a prodigious height piled one upon another. Our soundings were twenty-six fathom, and at ten o'clock we saw land.

According to the report fifteen sick; the ship making much water. Latitude in, 64 degrees, 45 minutes;

longitude in, 26 degrees, 30 minutes. Wind south-west; current from north to south; course north-north-east and north-east one quarter north.

Saturday, June the 4th, being resolved to hold on my course until I had determined the distance between the two capes, which the Russians affirm to be very near each other, I stood to the north-west along shore, and about four P. M. observing that the northern part of the land of the cape of America drew to the east-ward, and stood off. At five saw land bearing west-south-west, which we soon perceived to be islands; the ice which the current brought upon us carried us so near that we saw them in the night, and distinguished three in number at day break. To avoid the direction of the ice-drifts I made the best of my way by setting sail, and at ten A. M. we discovered land, and two vessels standing towards us. Our soundings were thirty-four fathom. At eleven, moored at the distance of three leagues, in twenty-two fathom, and took a view of the land. Latitude in, 65 degrees, 20 minutes; longitude in, 25 degrees, 30 minutes. Wind south-west; current from the north-east; course north-north-west.

Sunday, June the 5th, at anchor, surrounded with ice; the wind irregular, and increasing, with a heavy sea. At three P. M. the boats reached us, and appeared to be Tsukcsi. I invited them on board by a Koreack, who was with us: They came without fear. It was by their means that I learned positively, that we were no further distant from Tsukotzkoy noss than about fourteen leagues; that the islands we had seen were four in number, the most southerly being the largest; and that the cape we had quitted in the evening, was that of the great land Alaksina, the name by which the Tsukcsi denote America. At four, finding myself in danger from the ice, and being informed that it was impossible to pass further, I

determined to return to the coast of America, for which the wind was favourable; at this instant the cable was cut by the ice-drifts, and I had only time to re-embark the Tsukcsi, to whom I made a present of some knives and brandy. At five P. M. set sail under the courses, the ship making much water. About ten we perceived an appearance of blackness to the southward, which indicated the vicinity of the last mentioned islands. The ice incommoded us less, as the direction of the vessel was with the current. About six P. M. doubled the cape of Alaksina, and at eleven discovered an entrance between the breakers and the shore. The cape sheltered us from the ice-drifts, and left us at liberty to work the ship; I therefore determined, at all events, to seek for anchorage.

According to the report, twelve sick, the ship making at the rate of thirty-eight inches of water per day. Latitude in, 64 degrees 50 minutes; longitude in, 26 degrees, 4 minutes; wind south-west, current north; course south-south-east.

Monday, June the 6th, having approached the land, I discovered a bay in which I moored. Soundings from eight fathoms to * and I surveyed this harbour into which run two brooks.

As soon as we had moored, I ordered twenty-eight associates on shore, to set up tents made of our sails, and at two and a half P. M. I went on shore myself with Mr. Csurin, who having observed a place which promised to give us an opportunity of careening the ship, proposed to visit the spot. I therefore gave the necessary orders for unloading her cargo, and Mr. Csurin was charged to overlook and make the necessary preparations. Thirty-six of the associates, under the command of Mr. Panow were directed to undertake this, while the rest employed themselves in hunting, fishing and cutting of wood.

* Blank in the manuscript.

Tuesday June the 7th, all the people being busied at work, I requested Mr. Kuzneczow, as the most alert, to take some of the associates with him, and go in quest of discoveries. This day Mr. Csurin informed me, that though the ship's timbers were strained, yet it would be capable of sailing in the southern seas, and that the leaks were occasioned only by the loosening of the seams, which he hoped to remedy by caulking, in a few hours. This account was very agreeable to me, and I was assured of its truth by actual inspection. Mr. Kuzneczow did not return till eight in the evening, when he informed me, that he had ascended the neighbouring mountain to the northward, and had discovered land to the north-east, but that to the eastward there lay an immense country with few mountains, and in many places without snow, and intersected by rivers. The approach of night not having permitted him to distinguish remote objects, he asked permission to take others of the associates with him to pursue his discoveries to the eastward; for he assured me, that he had observed signs of its being inhabited. Seeing him so well disposed, and being desirous of obtaining a positive knowledge of this country, I permitted him to complete his discovery. I passed the night with several of my friends, in watching our associates, as there was reason to fear some plot, but happily they were quiet.

Wednesday, June the 8th, the vessel being caulked, was loaded again, and the water-casks filled. Our fishery produced one cask and a half of fish, which we salted, and our hunting party brought only twenty beavers, with some sea-wolves; but they likewise brought us a great provision of garlick, and 740 roots of a very agreeable taste: They were nearly of the size of a child's head and weighed from three to five pounds. At eleven A. M. all the people were on board, and we waited only the return of Mr. Kuzneczow.

According to the report, thirteen sick, the ship making from seven to eleven inches of water per day.

Thursday, June the 9th. At one P. M. Mr. Kuznec-zow arrived at the shore: I sent the small boat for him, and when he came on board he informed me, that he had discovered, at the distance of four leagues, an habitation composed of fourteen huts, but that the inhabitants had fled, and he had found only an old woman and some children in their huts. The old woman was of a very dark complection, with many figures painted on her forehead, and her nostrils bored; but as he could not make himself understood by any word of the Koriac or Tsukcsi language, he could derive no information from her: he found several bows and arrows, with the heads very well made, of iron, in the huts, and brought them away, as he knew that they would be acceptable to me, as well as an habit almost complete made of birds feathers. As he found nothing more which was remarkable, he retired, after leaving several knives and small mirrors, in the room of the things he had carried away; which part of his conduct, I very strongly approved. This discovery * at last convinced me, that I had been sufficiently fortunate to verify the distance between the two capes, concerning which so many conjectures have been made, and of which the Russians have spoken so falsely; for it is not true, that any vessel has passed this strait, though the people employed on this voyage went as far as Anadir, where their vessel was cast away in 15 degrees of longitude from Bolsha, and 73 degrees of latitude. They finished their journey by land to Anadir, and thence to Kamchatka, but not by sea, as they have published. At three P. M. weighed, and made sail out of the bay of Aladar; our course was south-east, one quarter east, and we were favoured by a strong tide. At day-break

* The Count was mistaken in supposing he ever reached America.

I discovered that we had passed between the continent and an island named Aladar, at the same time that I saw another cape on the main land, which formed a bay, I observed that the middle of this bay lay north. About ten A. M. saw another cape, the extremity of which is distinguished by a mountain in the form of a sugar-loaf.

Latitude in, 63 degrees, 10 minutes; longitude in, 28 degrees, 25 minutes; wind west-south-west; current from north-west; course south-east, one quarter south.

Friday, June the 10th, having observed that the coast inclined to the eastward, I determined to sail along it, as we were no longer incommoded by the ice-drifts, and the wind was favourable. We passed an agreeable day, which was the first since our departure from Kamchatka. The wind was fresh, though not too strong, the sea moderate, and the ground from forty-five to twenty-six fathom; the night was no less beautiful than the day. At five in the morning we saw a prodigious quantity of birds, whose flight was directed from south-east to north-west, but we lost sight of the land, and did not again come in sight 'till near ten hours, when we saw it at a very great distance in the north-east quarter. Our course brought us nearer and nearer, and at three quarters after eleven I took the view.

According to the report, nine sick; the pump clear; latitude in, 63 degrees, 0 minutes; longitude in, 31 degrees, 4 minutes; wind west-south-west; current from the south; course east, one quarter south.

Saturday, June the 11th, fine clear weather with a strong steady breeze, the land constantly in sight; many flights of birds seen in the direction of yesterday; the people on board uncommonly quiet. At ten I observed a headland, and the direction of the coast was to the eastward.

According to the report, seven sick, the pump clear; latitude in, 61 degrees, 42 minutes; longitude in, 33

degrees, 40 minutes; wind west; no current; course south-east, one quarter south.

Sounded, and got ground thirty-eight fathom.

Sunday, June the 12th, fine clear weather, and wind as yesterday. At eight P. M. the land being in sight from east to north, sounded, and got ground at twenty-two fathom; shortened sail, and as the blackness of the horizon indicated the proximity of the land, came to anchor in fourteen fathom. At day-break found ourselves at the distance of a league and a half from a headland to the eastward, and another cape lay north one quarter north,* distant five leagues; near the entrance of a bay, which strongly tempted me to come to, but the associates insisted that we should make the shortest course to some European establishment, as they represented that they had not entered into any engagement to run over the ocean in search of discoveries; I thought proper, therefore, to satisfy their desires, and abandoning my project, I weighed, and continued to sail along the coast.

According to the report, five sick, the pump clear; latitude in, 60 degrees, 40 minutes; longitude in, 35 degrees, 52 minutes; wind west; current south-west; course south-south-east.

Depth of water twenty-six fathom.

Monday, June the 13th, the weather began to change and became squally; handed the top-sails, and continued our course under the lower sails. To conform to the resolution of the company, I kept as near the wind as possible. In the night it was a dead calm, and the ship rolled in a dangerous manner. At day-break, no land being in sight, we were surrounded by floating herbage. The companions expressed their satisfaction at the mildness of the climate we had sailed into; at ten saw there elevated rocks, and sailed round the southernmost.

* So in the manuscript.

According to the report, five sick, the pump clear; latitude in, 59 degrees, 10 minutes; longitude in, 34 degrees, 0 minutes; wind west, and west-north-west; no current; course south-west, one quarter south.

Very high land in sight to the eastward, distant nine or ten leagues.

Tuesday, June the 14th, close weather, inclining to stormy, the clouds becoming heavier and in heaps one above the other. The wind veered to the north-west, and increased its force, but as at the same time it became steadier, I ventured to set the top-sails. The smoothness of the water encouraged me to take this advantage. The weather in the night was similar to that in the day, no land being in sight, but we observed its situation by the blackness which covered the eastern part of the horizon; sounded several times, but got no bottom.

According to the report, five sick, the pump clear.

N. B. Saw the land which I sketched; latitude in, 57 degrees, 25 minutes; longitude in, 32 degrees, 0 minutes; wind north-west; no current; course south-west, one quarter south.

Wednesday, June the 15th, having observed signs of an approaching gale of wind during the whole morning, I handed the top-sails, and got down the mizen top-mast; it came on by degrees, and its greatest force continued only three hours, but its violence was excessive; kept only the lower sails set for the rest of the day. At six we were between the cape and the island, which we doubled, but a second island being in sight, I lay to under the mizen, with the ship's head to the eastward; but the force of the wind at last obliged me in the morning to lay to under her bare poles. The violence of the rolling of the ship stretched our shrouds and back-stays in such a manner, that in the morning the masts were almost entirely without support; we remedied this as well as possible, by seizing them together with ropes.

Thursday, June the 16th, we were in danger of running a ground on an island, which I avoided by little less than a miracle. This was a day of extreme danger, as every sea went over the ship, and the pumps being unable to keep her clear endangered our foundering. In this affliction I saw the loss we should undergo of the rich furs we had on board, which promised to be worth near a million of piastres at China.

Friday, June the 17th, the wind insensibly slackened, and the company laboured hard to clear the ship out of her state of confusion. At day-break it was almost calm; we therefore set up the shrouds and back stays, and got up the yards and top-masts. At nine the wind entirely died away, and the sun appearing, gave us an opportunity to make an observation.

According to the report, 19 sick; pumps constantly going without being able to clear the well. Latitude in, 55 degrees, 35 minutes; longitude in, 31 degrees, 30 minutes.

Saturday, June the 18th, variable winds from north to north-east; heavy weather, with an irregular swell. As I had determined to anchor at the island mentioned to me by Mr. Ochotyn, I resolved to stand well to the eastward, upon its parallel of latitude, for fear of missing it: For this reason I sailed on a south-east course. At two P. M. being desirous of inspecting the cargo, I caused the hold to be opened, out of which issued putrid vapours, doubtless from the corruption of the skins. The women and sick, who were shut up below during the storm, were carried upon deck: They at first found themselves faint, but afterwards grew better. In the night the swell became less, and the wind fixed at north-east, one quarter north. The pumps were constantly kept at work without being able to clear the well, and the course of the vessel was greatly impeded. At day-break saw land from the mast head, right a-head; used every effort to come near it; about

noon we saw it was an island; sounded several times, but got no bottom.

According to the report, 18 sick; the vessel making 18 inches of water per hour. Latitude in, 54 degrees, 28 minutes, north; longitude, 32 degrees, 46 minutes; wind north-east, one quarter north; current from north-east; course south-east, one quarter south.

Sunday, June the 19th, at one P. M. the weather being fine, the wind moderate, and very little swell, I handed all the sails, and sent sixteen men, under the command of Messrs. Wynbladth and Kuzneczow, on shore in the shallop, to make discoveries, while the ship drove to the southward along shore. All this day was employed in repairing the damages sustained by the late gale of wind. At seven Mr. Kuzneczow returned with two boats, conducted by the islanders, having two Russian strangers at their head. He informed me, that the island was named the Greater Kadik, and that there was another island to the south-east, which the inhabitants called the Island of Black Foxes. On his landing he was surrounded by the islanders, armed with lances and arrows, who appeared inclined to dispute the passage with him. He called out, that if they were of the party of Mr. Ochotyn they should acknowledge his friends; upon which exclamation two Russians came forward for a more particular explanation, and when they were at last convinced that we were really connected with Mr. Ochotyn, from the account Mr. Kuzneczow gave of his stay at Beering's island, they appeased the natives, who laid down their arms, and came hastily to give marks of their satisfaction. They proposed to conduct Mr. Kuzneczow to their habitations; but his desire of speedily returning prevented his accepting their invitation. Two Russians, therefore, determined to accompany him, and as a proof of their good intentions, they had loaded the boats with different roots and a quantity of beavers and foxes skins.

From this account I gave orders for receiving the islanders, and entertaining them in the best manner in our power; while I lost no time in receiving the friends of Ochotyn. They informed me, that their number amounted to twenty-two upon the island, and that the tajons of the place had submitted to the command of Mr. Ochotyn; by whose orders they were at that time busied in constructing several vessels. They then requested that I would give them some proof of my having had an interview with Mr. Ochotyn. I thought proper to satisfy them, by exhibiting his letter to the Tajon of Urumusir; after perusal of which, having no further mistrust, they offered their services as pilots, to conduct the ship to Urumusir. I accepted their offer with great pleasure, but I represented to them that one would be sufficient. They therefore drew lots, and the chance fell upon Gregoir Salasiow. We put ourselves under his charge till morning, and then having made up a present for the tajon, which I entrusted to the companions of Salasiow, I distributed knives and looking-glasses to all the islanders on board, and dismissing them we pursued our voyage with our two boats astern.

At nine in the morning we found ourselves at the mouth of a bay, where Salasiow requested leave to go on shore to procure a Bajdara, to pilot us; I consented, and he returned before noon with a boat and men. The agility with which this small boat was managed, and the velocity of its course, though it had no other sail than a small piece of cloth, fastened to a stick in the centre of the vessel, astonished me very much.

According to the report, eighteen sick; the pumps constantly going; latitude in 54 degrees, 00 minutes; longitude 32 degrees, 30 minutes; wind north-east; current north-east; course south-west, one quarter south. Land in sight all day.

Monday, June 20th. Fine warm weather, moderate

wind, and no swell: many flights of birds in sight, which Salasiow observing me to notice, informed me, that at this season, the geese and ducks retired towards Alaksina. From the account he gave me, I was confirmed in my opinion, that the land of Alaksina was the main continent of America. He assured me that the distance to the great land, did not exceed thirty-five or forty leagues; and that the islanders often made voyages thither, to visit their friends and relations; the Tajon of Kadik, being married to one of the daughters of the Tajon of Alaksina Homin. About three o'clock, having the boats a-head, conducted by the islanders, we saw an island, which Salasiow affirmed to be the Island of Foxes; and he informed me, that there were three others to the southward of that island. About five we saw another island, on the starboard; and Salasiow informed me, that there were four together. The situation of these islands occasioning a very irregular sea, I determined to come to; for which purpose I consulted my pilot, who informed me, that the depth of water where we then were, was twenty fathom. In fact we found it eighteen, on sounding. I anchored in the mid-channel, and immediately afterwards Salasiow went on shore in his boat, having first informed me, that I might continue my course through the same channel, and that he would rejoin me before I got out of the streights; for which purpose he begged I would hoist a blue flag, and fire several guns. In the night we observed several fires upon the great island, on our starboard hand, and one on the small island. At five in the morning, weighed, and made sail, having a beautiful view of the island along which we coasted. At ten we saw a second island, on the larboard bow, and its position agreed with the information of Salasiow.

According to the report, sixteen sick; pumps constantly at work; latitude in 53 degrees, 49 minutes;

longitude in 30 degrees, 41 minutes; wind north-east; current north-east; course south-west, one quarter west.

Tuesday, June 21. Wind and weather as yesterday. Continued our course at a good rate. This day Mr. Panow assured me, that we were indebted for the good behaviour of the company, to our friendship with Mr. Ochotyn; and that he was well assured, that if it had not been for the fear of Mr. Ochotyn, a party of the companions would have run the ship on shore. In fact, the perfect tranquillity of the whole company, though worn out with hard work at the pumps, led me to give credit to Mr. Panow's conjecture; but I was contented to enjoy the advantage of this tranquillity, without minutely enquiring into the causes which produced it.

At five, Mr. Salasiow returned, with three other vessels, which brought a quantity of dried fish, roots, and one hundred and sixty beaver skins. On his arrival on board, Mr. Salasiow presented me with the provisions and furs, in the name of the Tajon of the island, whose son he brought with him, with a request to convey him to the island Urumusir, where he proposed to visit his relations. I consented to this with pleasure, and returned his father an assortment of toys, with a handsome gun, as a present; and after having distributed some trifles among the islanders, I dismissed them. At seven we passed the south-west point of the island, and came in sight of another, right a-head, which Salasiow told me was named Amschud. We doubled the cape, and resumed a direct course, at about two o'clock. At six we saw an island on the larboard side, which Salasiow informed me belonged to Urumusir; and that there lay another beyond it, which, in fact, was seen by the men at the mast head. At eleven we observed three other islands, on the starboard side, which Salasiow called the Beavers; and we were in full sight of the island Urumusir, at the distance of two leagues. Salasiow undertook to conduct us into the harbour.

According to the report, ten sick; the pumps constantly at work; latitude in, 52 degrees, 25 minutes; longitude in 28 degrees, 15 minutes; wind north-east, quarter east; current north-east; course south-west, one quarter south.

Wednesday, June 22. The wind being calm, hoisted out the shallop and small boat, and towed the vessel. At two o'clock found ourselves at the mouth of a bay, into which we entered, and moored at one cable's length distance from the shore, in four and one-half fathoms water.

As soon as we came to, Salasiow requested to go on shore, to inform the inhabitants and associates of Mr. Ochotyn of our arrival, in order to prevent any disturbance. I sent Mr Kuzneczow with him, and he returned about three P. M. with two other Russians, who invited me to come on shore, and offered me the use of a commodious lodging, and a store-house, large enough to contain our whole lading. Mr. Kuzneczow informed me that the Russians had promised him every assistance on the part of the islanders; but that I could not see the chief of the island till the following day, on account of the distance of his habitation. Before I left the vessel I gave the command to Mr. Csurin, and left with him twenty-eight associates, whom I could most depend upon. All the rest of the company, including the women and the sick, I took on shore with me. When I landed I was taken to a very convenient habitation, near which stood a spacious building fit for a store-house. As soon as I had appointed the lodgings of the sick, and the women, I established a camp for my people, and sent immediate orders to unload the vessel. This business was particularly intrusted to Messrs. Panow and Wynbladth, and I was content to have Mr. Kuzneczow and Sibaew, with twelve associates, near me.

The two Russians who conducted me to my habitation left me for the purpose, as they said, to assemble their

associates and the islanders, in order to visit me in ceremony.

At eight o'clock Salasiow returned to inform me that the chief of the island was coming to pay me a visit, with the wife of Ochotyn, and a great number of the islanders, and consequently that it would be proper to make some small presents to the principal persons, of whom he named eleven. After he had left me to join his companions, I passed the whole night in superintending the landing of our effects, among which our guns were not the smallest concern. Our assiduity was such that, with no other assistance than the shallop and the small boat, the ship was unladen by five in the morning, and I had the satisfaction to see the vessel cleared.

At nine in the morning an old man was announced to me, who spoke the Russian language. He was admitted and came in with a boy of twelve years of age, whom he offered me as a present, which I accepted on condition that he would permit me to make him a present in return. His physiognomy convinced me that he was not a Russian, but as he spoke the Russian language very well, I was curious to enquire into this prodigy. There is no doubt but he perceived my embarrassment, for he burst into a laugh, and said, "Mr. European, you will be surprized that I call you by that name, but I must inform you that I know more than all the Aleuthes. I was taken by the Cossacks in my youth, who carried me into their own country, where I was conveyed from one town to another, till at last I fell into the hands of a merchant, who sent me with some Cossacks in search of my country, which we at last found, and the Cossacks sent me on shore, that I might invite my countrymen to trade with them. But for my part finding myself restored to my country, I returned no more to the Cossacks, but remained in my own island; where the Tajon having taken an

attachment to me, gave me his daughter Kalki in marriage: and as I knew every thing, the Aleuthes made me their Tajon after the death of my father-in-law; and I am now the strongest, the most knowing, and the richest Tajon of the Aleuthes. As I am now in years I have given up the government to my son, and content myself with being his friend and adviser. My son need no longer fear the Cossacks, for an European Tajon has married his daughter, and this Tajon is a god. For this reason it is that I laughed, and shall laugh on."

From this last expression, understanding that he spoke of Ochotyn, I informed him that I knew him well, and that he was one of my friends, and had intrusted me with a letter for his father-in-law.

On this assurance the good old man embraced me, called me his son, his dear son, and afterwards begged leave to depart, to carry this news to his family. After the departure of this good man, I gave orders to inspect the chests of furs. We did not find one undamaged. I gave orders, therefore, that they should be exposed to the air to dry, and the good ones separated from the rest. The women took charge of this business.

Thursday, June 23. On shore at the bay of Urumusir. At one o'clock I was informed of the arrival of the Tajon, escorted by the Russians of Ochotyn's party, and a very considerable number of attendants. The good old man preceded them all, and presented his wife to me, as did likewise the Tajon his children, with the wife of Mr. Ochotyn and some of the chief islanders. After this ceremony, the company formed a circle, in the midst of which the Tajon seated himself with all his family. I then caused the letter of Mr. Ochotyn to be brought, which I put into the hands of the Tajon. Its contents were as follow:

"Health to my father, the Tajon Tuachta, chief of the Aleuthes islands.

"In the hope, that God will conduct my friend to you, I have given him the present letter, to inform you of our union, and beg that you will give him every assistance he may want.

"I wait the arrival of the vessel to proceed to Kamchatka, whence I hope to return, before the next snow, to embrace my wife, and convince you of my tenderness. All that I shall take from the Cossacks will be for you and your subjects. I recommend likewise, by this present letter, to my companions, to shew every submission to my friend who brings this letter, and to obey him as they would myself. I wish all happiness to my father, our family, my associates, and my wife.

"Signed OCHOTYN."

*Beering's Island, May* 24, 1771.

This letter was read by a Russian, and interpreted in a loud voice by the father of the Tajon. The wife of Mr. Ochotyn wept, and her tears convinced me that the people, whom we are in the habit of calling Savages, might serve as models to us for friendship and attachment. After the letter was read, one of the Russians advanced and informed me, that he was nominated commanding officer on the island during the absence of Mr. Ochotyn; and that in consequence of his orders, he begged me to dispose of him and forty other associates. I thanked him for his offer, and replied, that if some of them were willing to assist us in our works, I should gratefully acknowledge their services. The Tajon, on his part, requested his father to propose to me to enter into friendship with him. For this purpose, he ordered seven vessels made of skin and filled with water to be brought to wash our faces. The Tajon took one, and distributed five others to five other chiefs. The seventh he presented to me. After this ceremony, fire was brought, and every one took a coal, and said, With fire like this we will burn the Cossacks. The

oath finished by the distribution of seven arrows, which were broken by the possessors respectively, with the words, Amongst us arms are useless. The attendants then brought stones, and raised a pile in remembrance of our oath. After which I regaled the Tajons with brandy, and distributed at least two hundred pounds of tobacco among the islanders. I likewise distributed my presents, in return for which the Tajon promised me some valuable skins.

At the close of day the islanders retired to an eminence near us, and established their camp. Being informed by the associates of Ochotyn, that they were about to make a festival of rejoicing, I determined to go and see them. I accordingly went, and the Tajon, as soon as he saw me, came to meet me, and introduced me into the circle, that I might have a better opportunity of beholding their dance. In reality it was very singular, for at the sound of the drum the whole company became agitated, as if in the highest rage; and the Russians informed me, that I should soon see the whole company fall asleep, which was the usual effect of an infusion of muchomor, which the islanders drink on such occasions. This incident did not fail to happen soon after, and the Tajon himself fell asleep among the rest. The old man his father was, however, an exception; he accompanied me home, and I embraced the opportunity of inquiring, what reason had induced him to part with the boy he had given me? He replied, that when he was last year at Kadik the Tajon of that island had given him the boy, who was born on the great land of Alexina, where he had doubtless been made prisoner by the Aleuthes, against whom they had sworn a declared enmity; and that being apprehensive of the consequences on the part of the young man, he had determined to get rid of him the first opportunity.

As I had promised, when I accepted his present, that

I would make another in exchange, I gave him a handsome gun, one pound of powder, fifty balls, and five pounds of tobacco, with a bottle of brandy. Having thus satisfied him we parted, and I went to rest: Mr. Kuzneczow undertook to keep watch. When I arose, I learned that twenty-two associates of Mr. Ochotyn's party had undertaken to assist in repairing the ship; and two of them being coopers, were employed in setting up our casks, which we were in great want of for water, as the heat of the climate to which we were going would prevent our availing ourselves of the fresh water from the ice islands, as we had hitherto done.

At nine o'clock, I was informed that a number of young women were come to offer their services, but the report came too late to put it in my power to make any decision, for my associates had every one chosen companions from amongst them. As I was desirous of inspecting the progress of the repairs of the vessel, I accordingly went on board, and had the satisfaction to see that every thing would be compleated in the course of twenty-four hours, and consequently that I might quit the island in two or three days. I was desirous of profiting by this interval, and therefore determined to examine the interior parts of the island, and more especially to visit the islands we had discovered on our approach to Urumusir.

According to the report six sick. A quantity of roots and fish were brought me on the part of the Tajon.

Friday, June 24. I made an excursion, accompanied by Mr. Kuzneczow, towards the eastern part of the island. I passed over the beautiful plains which are certainly susceptible of good cultivation, but I discovered no vestige which rendered it probable that these islanders cultivate the earth. Their food intirely consists in certain roots, fish, and the flesh of beavers and sea cows. The wood which grows on this island is good, and proper for every kind of building.

The habitations of the islanders, several of which we saw and visited, perfectly resembled the balagans of the Kamchadals. After I returned from this excursion, I determined, from the small prospect of meeting with any thing worthy of notice, to make no more, but double my attention, to get the vessel ready for departure.

According to the report six sick.

Saturday, June 25. Mr. Csurin informed me, that the vessel was ready to receive her cargo. I therefore gave orders to this effect to Mr. Crustiew. The associates of Mr. Ochotyn were of great assistance to us in this business.

About two o'clock, the father of the Tajon came with a present of sixty skins, and a canoe made of skin; the lightness of which surprized me, for two men could easily carry it, though it had eight oars. The keel only was made of wood, and the rest was whale-bone, covered with the skins of sea wolves, with the hair outwards, sewed together with twine made of the guts of beavers. At five o'clock, the Tajon likewise arrived with presents, and I regaled him and his company with brandy. When he was informed of my approaching departure, he requested a letter for Mr. Ochotyn, and I delivered him one to the following purport:

Honourable Friend,

After a painful and disagreeable navigation, in which I was compelled, by the obstinacy of my companions, to sail as far to the northward as 66 degrees, I have at last returned to the south, and have taken advantage of the winds to visit your island. I have received much advantage from the services of Salasiow, one of your associates, whom I particularly recommend to you. On my arrival, your friends and companions have given me every assistance to put my vessel into proper repair for a long voyage; and the islanders, from their example,

have behaved with the utmost cordiality to us. The Tajon Tuachta, more especially, has been most friendly and attentive. I could have wished, that the presents I have distributed among the islanders had been of greater value: but alas! you know that Kamchatka is not a place from which any one escapes overloaded with riches; besides which all my possessions consisted in furs, which are plentiful among the islanders. During the time of my stay, I have observed, with satisfaction, that the islanders are sincerely attached to you. I therefore recommend to you to avail yourself, as much as possible, of their affection; and for that purpose, I would advise you always to have a trusty party of these people near you; for among the Russians, who are with you, there will be some who will shew the disposition of the country. To place yourself out of danger of plots, you must keep your people in constant employment: and I take this occasion once more to repeat, that if I were situated as you are, with two or three vessels suitable to the undertaking, I would retire to the southward, where, doubtless, you will find islands, and the climate will second your attempts to establish a flourishing colony. The knowledge you have of the commerce of China, and the constant resource which you might have to your friends in the Aleuthes islands for furs, to supply this trade, could not fail to put it in your power to make an establishment of the first importance. Adieu, my friend, I wish you every prosperity, and you may depend upon my best exertions to cause some European power to accept your proposals.

Signed MAURICE AUGUSTUS.

After communicating this letter to the Tajon I took my leave, being resolved to embark the following day. At eight in the morning, I gave orders for every one to go on board; and after making presents to Salasiow, and the other associates, I likewise went on board with

the sick and the women, where I found every thing in proper order. According to the report, two sick; the vessel drawing seven feet eight inches water.

Sunday, June 26. Fine clear warm weather, and calm. At three o'clock weighed anchor, towed out the vessel, and came to in the mid-channel. The associates celebrated a festival on the occasion of baptizing the young American on board, who was named Sacharie. In the morning, having been informed that there were upwards of fifty women on board, I gave orders for setting them on shore, after the distribution of presents among them. At eleven, A. M. weighed and made sail.

According to the report, two sick; cleared the well, having made no more than eight inches water during the twenty-four hours.

Monday, June 27. At sea; fine temperate weather; wind north-east, rather fresh; course south-west, one quarter south, with all sails set; the three islands in sight till four, P. M. and the south-west point in sight till nine; clear starry weather in the night. At ten in the morning saw land from the mast-head, which, the wind being favourable, we approached within two leagues distance.

According to the report, two sick; the well clear. Latitude in 51 degrees, 30 minutes; longitude in 25 degrees, 25 minutes. Wind north-east; no current; course south-west.

Tuesday, June 28. Altered our course to south one quarter east, to avoid the breakers in sight near the shore. At seven, P. M. the wind freshened from north-east to east, and the sea arose very irregularly, which caused the vessel to labour. At eight, the southern extremity of the island being in sight, bearing north one quarter west we resumed our course, as I was desirous of reconnoitring these islands, which had been described to me as situated in the 48th degree of north latitude.

At ten the wind settled at east, and blew with the utmost violence; I had only time to take in the small sails; the impetuosity of the wind reduced the swell, and the sea became as level as a pond; we ran at the rate of ten knots and an half by the log under the mizen. At seven, A. M. the wind began to slacken, and permitted me to set the top-sails, under which we sailed with undiminished velocity. At ten, A. M. saw land right a-head, which at noon was only three leagues distant.

According to the report, one sick; the well clear. Latitude in 49 degrees, 6 minutes; longitude in 22 degrees, 40 minutes. Wind east; no current; course south-west, one quarter south.

Wednesday, June 29. Strong gales of wind throughout; at three passed a cape of the island Cusma; about five the horizon became clouded; and at six we had a shower, which did not last long. The wind returned to the north-east, with such violence as carried away the fore and mizen top-masts. The cargo shifted with the shock, and six buts of water were staved. I was chagrined at this loss, more particularly because I was convinced that our casks would not hold tight in a hot climate.

According to the report, five sick; the pump clear. Latitude in 48 degrees, 40 minutes; longitude in 18 degrees, 30 minutes. Wind north-east; no current; course south-west, one quarter west.

Thursday, June 30. Hazy weather, with rain; wind from north-east to north, with a heavy swell from north-west.

As I was desirous of taking every precaution to secure us against the inconvenience of the want of water, I gave orders for the regular distribution of an allowance. But Mr. Stephanow came and represented to me, in the name of the company, that the allowance of biscuit and water I had set was not enough, and that

they required twice as much, as well as an allowance of brandy, which they were in need of to keep up their spirits. This proceeding of Mr. Stephanow irritated me to such a degree, that I threatened to throw him overboard if he continued his cabal. I recollected myself however, and was desirous of convincing him of the absurdity of his conduct. But he paid no attention to me, and left the cabin with the grossest invectives, without doubt with the intention of carrying his plot into execution. To prevent this, I assembled the chiefs of the company, in order to consult what was best to be done; for I was well convinced, from my knowledge of the individuals who composed Stephanow's party, that they were disposed to proceed to more serious consequences. We had scarcely met, before we received information that Stephanow had encouraged a party of the associates to broach a barrel of water to quench their thirst; and with a view to persuade them more effectually, he had declared that we were near the land, as he was certainly assured by my own observations and the charts I had composed from the information of Mr. Ochotyn, &c. He told them, that he knew very well the reason why I had determined not to anchor at this land, and promised to tell the reason in secret another time; but that it was highly necessary, at this moment, to compel me to obey their orders. This report determined us to go upon deck, to advise the associates to return to their duty; but we found them all armed, with Mr. Stephanow at their head, who spared no imprecation against me, and declared, that as the company had elected him chief, he would preserve my life merely for the purpose of encreasing my sufferings. He then ordered his people to seize me; but luckily for me, Mr. Kuzneczow thought of awakening the associates, who were asleep in their hammocks. These came up the fore-skuttle, to the number of nine, all armed, and prevented them from proceeding to

violence. Being thus confined to the fore-castle, we were spectators of the greatest disorders, which Mr. Stephanow himself could not remedy; for the associates of his party having entered the cabin, brought up three casks of brandy; and while this kind of provision lasted, it was partly drank by them, and partly thrown about the deck. In the midst of this debauch the actors were interrupted by the night, and being all drunk, without knowing what they did, or paying the least attention to the remonstrances of Mr. Stephanow, they went down to rest. Seeing himself thus destitute of all support, the unhappy wretch followed them, to represent the dangers they exposed themselves to by suffering me to resume the authority.

We took advantage of their confusion to shut the main hatchway; and while I went to visit my cabin, Mr. Panow, with two associates, Sibaew and Loginow, seized Stephanow, whom they put in irons, and fastened to the mizen-mast.

At one in the morning Mr. Wynbladth informed me, that the revolters, heated by the great quantity of brandy they had drank, and desirous of water, and at the same time not knowing what they did, had staved fourteen casks of water, which was entirely lost, and there remained no more than two casks and an half in all.

Such were the consequences of the rage which Stephanow had excited. My friends advised me to seize the criminals and put them all in irons. But I was too much affected with the prospect of our approaching misery to think of adding to our present and future unhappy reflections by an open dissention.

At five o'clock, having taken the precaution to seize the arms of all who had followed the party of Stephanow, I mustered the whole company on deck, where I exposed to them the conduct of Stephanow, and represented in strong terms the sufferings to which we were now

exposed, without the possibility of a remedy. The unhappy men, who had perpetrated the crime of losing our water, were entirely ignorant of the circumstance when informed of it. Their despair then burst forth in accusations of Stephanow, as the author of all that they had done. With one voice they demanded his death; they insisted on sacrificing such a monster, and it was not without the greatest difficulty that I prevailed on them to spare his life. But as it was necessary to shew him that I had power to punish crimes, I proposed that he should be declared unworthy of the society, and condemned him to serve as assistant to the cook. The same sentence was passed upon the Sieur Sudekin, secretary at Kamchatka, whom I had brought away prisoner, and who had since attached himself to Stephanow. Stephanow was then brought to the main-mast to hear his sentence, and as he supposed I should condemn him to death, he was mean enough to implore my compassion, and still meaner after he had heard his sentence read. He thanked me for the pity I had shewn on this occasion. Mr. Panow, enraged at his pusillanimity, would have shot him through the head, if I had not prevented him.

According to the report, twenty-one sick; the pump clear. Latitude in 47 degrees, 40 minutes; longitude in 15 degrees, 30 minutes. Wind from north to north-east; no current; course south-west.

Friday, July 1, 1771. The wind drawing round to the westward, and increasing with rain. Saw a large quantity of floating weed; and the colour of the water appearing changed, sounded several times, but got no bottom. The company employed in collecting rain water, of which we obtained two casks. This supply was very acceptable; but as the water tasted of tar, the associates engaged to drink no other, in order to preserve the rest of our stock for myself, the sick, and our female companions. Mr. Kuzneczow informed me of this

resolution. At the close of the evening it fell calm; but at two, A. M. the wind rose, and blew fresh from north-west, one quarter west. At six M. Le Surin informed me that there still remained four casks of water, which were covered with the planks, that formed the cabin of his lady. This account was very agreeable; but I ordered him not to communicate his discovery to his associates. This day we replaced the fore and mizen topmasts.

According to the report, four sick; the pumps clear. Latitude in 46 degrees, 30 minutes; longitude in 12 degrees, 35 minutes. Wind north north-west; no current; course south-west.

Saturday, July 2. Close cloudy weather. At one, P. M. a squall came on, with abundance of rain; after which the wind slackened, and at three it became calm; but the rippling of the sea gave me reason to apprehend that we were in a strong current. At *
the sea was so agitated, that the vessel rolled very much, and it was not without some apprehension, that I saw the main and mizen yards touch the surface of the water. At seven the weather became squally from the north-west quarter, from whence we had a strong gale. I had already taken in all the reefs: the course of the vessel through the water made a considerable noise, occasioned by a current contrary to its direction, and to which, no doubt, we were indebted for our preservation; for, in the obscurity of the night, we should not have been otherwise able to have avoided running ashore. The break of day rendered our danger evident, as we saw breakers at the distance of three quarters of a league. I immediately sounded, and got ground at thirty-six fathoms, the bottom consisting of mud and broken shells. At nine, A. M. we approached the shore, and anchored in twenty-eight fathoms; after which I immediately sent the small boat on shore, with

* A blank in the MS.

Mr. Kuzneczow, to examine the coast, in order to discover some port or harbour. The strength of the wind, however, parted our cable, and drove us out; I therefore fired several guns for the boat, as I had little hope of reaching the coast with so impetuous a wind. The fear of losing our boat and people, obliged me to lay to; but the current carrying us rapidly towards the shore, I occasionally set the mizen. This manœuvre fatigued the vessel greatly, and was frequently attended with evident danger of destruction.

According to the report, six sick; the pump clear. Latitude in 45 degrees, 57 minutes; longitude in 11 degrees, 30 minutes. Wind from north-west, to north-west, one quarter west.

Sunday, July 3. A very heavy gale from north-west to west; ship laying to, and firing minute guns, to recal the boat. At four P. M. we clued up the mizen, and the vessel meeting the swell, shipped a considerable quantity of water, and it was with some difficulty that she was righted. The associates, at the close of day, being apprehensive of being exposed to a repetition of the same danger, insisted, that I should either continue my course, or run the vessel aground on a sand bank which they had observed. I represented to them, that it would be an act of the utmost barbarity to abandon nine of our most faithful companions, upon an unknown land, to the mercy of the Savages; and that, therefore, I was determined rather to perish than quit the shore; as I would not consent to bear the reproach of having abandoned any of my companions. I told them, that I was ashamed of their want of delicacy, in making such a proposal as that of deserting their companions; and that, with regard to their second request, it was impossible to carry it into execution, because the wind, having veered round to the eastward, did not permit us to reach the shore at any particular spot; and the only means of accomplishing this, consisted in abandoning

the vessel to the current, which might probably throw us on the reef. For these reasons, I informed them that I was firmly resolved to consent to no part of their proposal. This determined answer enraged them, and several of them threatened me; among these, Baylakin cried out, that he would soon put an end to the dispute; and, snatching a knife out of the hands of one that stood by, he ran towards me. I prevented his purpose by firing a pistol, which fortunately disabled, without killing him. Upon this, several of the associates prepared to enter into a contest by main force; but the sight of Messrs. Panow, Crustiew, Baturin, Wynbladth, and several others, armed with pistols, and ready to obey my commands, checked their impetuosity. At length the night closed in, without sight of our companions; for this reason I kept two fires on board, and fired cannon at regular intervals. About eight, the watch called out, that he heard a shouting. We all ran to verify the fact, and had the great satisfaction to behold several flashes at a small distance from us. Their short duration convinced us that it was our companions, who fired their musquets, in which circumstance we were not deceived. At a quarter past eight they came on board, on the larboard side, not without some risk of staving the boat. Their happy return confounded the mutineers, who durst not shew their faces.

Mr. Kuzneczow gave me an account of the difficulties and fatigue attending his return; and, indeed it was a miracle that the boat had been able to resist the forces of the sea. His report was, that, an hour after he left the vessel, he arrived near the shore, but finding it impossible to go on shore, he was obliged to row round a headland, which sheltering him from the wind, presented a favourable place of landing in an harbour, where he found several boats at anchor, and a very large two-masted vessel; that when he came on shore, he saw inhabitants, clothed in the Chinese manner, in

blue, with parasols. He accosted them without hesitation, having left his six associates in the boat. The islanders invited him to go further up the country; which he should have complied with, if he had not heard the signal for his return. At this signal, he did every thing in his power, by signs and gestures to convince the islanders that he was obliged to return. They shewed no desire to retain him; but all which he could understand, amounted to a wish, on their part, to explain to him that the weather was very unfavourable to go out to sea, and that he ought to stay on shore, and return the next day in the morning. But that, when they perceived he was determined to depart, one among the islanders laid his hand upon his breast, (a sign of friendship, as he understood) and then presented him with his parasol, and a pipe, with a little bag containing tobacco; that he himself, in return, having nothing about him to present the islander, had given him his sabre, mounted with silver; and that the islander, charmed with his behaviour, had given him a knife. With respect to the country, he informed me, that he had seen a number of hogs, but no black cattle; and that the huts, or small houses, built near the shore, were regularly placed, and perfectly shaded by rows of trees, and the coast appeared well wooded.

This report, which was heard by all the company, excited a desire to go on shore; and they intreated me to use every exertion to continue in its neighbourhood. I was no less interested than themselves, and therefore determined to keep near the shore. But all our hopes vanished when we found the wind fix at the west, with redoubled force. I endeavoured to keep my position till two A. M. but then being no longer able to lay to, I set sail under the fore-stay-sail, and departed at the rate of eight or nine knots an hour. At day-break, the vessel was surrounded with porpoises and various sea birds, and the wind continued to freshen.

According to the report, four sick, one wounded; pump clear. Latitude in 45 degrees, 20 minutes; longitude in 13 degrees, 0 minutes. Wind west; course south-east, one quarter east.

Monday, July 4. A hard gale, with occasional showers, which gave me some hope of its slackening; but unfortunately it continued with the utmost violence, and deprived me of every hope of regaining the coast we had quitted; I therefore hauled wind, and held on my course. This day I examined the parasol, which was brought by Mr. Kuzneczow. It was made of paper, soaked with oil, and painted with several Chinese and Japanese characters. The pipe was of a compound metal, of a white colour; and the purse, containing the tobacco, was embroidered satin. The knife was perfectly well tempered, and the handle was ivory, well finished. These circumstances convinced me that the islanders traded with the Japanese. About sun-set the wind abated, and permitted me to set the mizen and close reefed topsails.

According to the report, three sick, one wounded. Latitude in 44 degrees, 6 minutes; longitude in 12 degrees, 0 minutes. Wind west; course south-south-west.

Tuesday, July 5. Hot weather, and the wind veering round to the southward. This day was employed in setting up our rigging, which the hot weather had slackened. I likewise changed our sails, which were so rent and worn, that their effect was considerably diminished. I distributed the old sails among the company, to make trowsers.

This day a council was held to determine, whether we ought to sail for Japan; for as I had no positive knowledge of any island, I thought it proper to take this course, to avoid the sufferings which threatened us for the want of provisions and water. Our provisions consisted of six casks of salt fish, and two casks of dried

fish; but the dried fish began to putrify by the heat, and convinced me that we could not use it much longer. All our biscuit was consumed, and our whole resource consisted in these two casks of dried fish, with two casks of rain water, and four casks of sweet water. I could not, therefore, depend on more than six or eight days provision, and fourteen days drink. The council determined to hold our course towards Japan, but to put in at any island we might come in sight of. This resolution was communicated to the whole company, who were very submissive, and consented to the decision, from the fear of hunger. M. Meder, having inspected our provision of salt fish, assured me, that in one or two days I should be obliged to throw the whole overboard; and, in order to turn it to the best advantage, he advised me to boil the salted fish to the consistence of a paste, and afterwards dry the paste into the form of bread, which might serve us in case of extreme need. I very much approved of this advice, and gave him charge to carry it into execution. The night was clear and starry; at six, A. M. the wind became variable, and at ten it fixed at north-west. This day we prepared lines for catching fish, several of which we had seen.

According to the report, five sick, and one wounded; the pump clear. Latitude in 43 degrees, 20 minutes; longitude in 12 degrees, 8 minutes. Wind west-south-west, and north; course south-south east.

Wednesday, July 6. Close cloudy weather to the north west, but the rain having abated the force of the wind and the swell of the sea, we set all our sails, and directed our course to the westward. This day we saw a quantity of floating sea-weed, and several birds, which directed their flight to the north-west. The fishermen took no more than two middling sized fish, weighing together about three pounds. At sun-set we heard thunder, for the first time; the ship's company thereupon entreated me to permit them to be bled, as,

without that precaution, they apprehended bad consequences from the heat, which they had already began to feel. I consented to their request with so much the more willingness, as the precaution could not be hurtful to their health. The night was dark, without any appearance of the moon; but the vessel making great way, gave us spirits. At day-break the quartermaster called out land. I went on deck, and likewise mistook some low clouds for land; but sun-rise dissipated the charm. In the morning Mr. Meder bled fifteen of the associates.

According to the report, three sick, one wounded; the pump clear. Latitude in 43 degrees, 20 minutes; longitude in 9 degrees, 4 minutes. Wind north one quarter west; course west one quarter south.

Thursday, July 7. Very fine weather, and smooth water. The heat of the sun was such, that it melted the pitch off the sides of the vessel. I gave orders to pay it afresh, and to wet the decks and sides every morning at sun-rise. The heat of the sun being very troublesome, I cut up a sail to make an awning. This day we fitted out the shallop, and the company was employed in cleaning their arms, and making small cordage: the night was very fine. At nine, A. M. we saw something floating on the water, and immediately lowered the boat, and rowed towards it. The boat's crew, on their return, brought another boat, very much damaged, and overset. When we had got it on board, I observed that it was a small fishing boat, for I found some lines, made of twisted silk, still fastened to it. The company, after examining the boat, undertook to repair it, to serve in case of need. This day fifteen other associates were bled.

According to the report, three sick; the wounded man able to come to work. Latitude in 42 degrees, 0 minutes; longitude in 6 degrees, 38 minutes. Wind north-north-west; course south-west one quarter south

Friday, July 8. The wind gradually increasing, with fine weather, and the sun shining strong. This day we made a trial of the fish-bread; we found it harsh, sour and very salt, but necessity obliged us to eat it. At sun-set, saw a great number of porpoises, but could catch none. The night was fine and clear, throughout. At day-break, four of the associates presented themselves, in the name of the company, to ask forgiveness, in favour of Mr. Stephanow; and as I was assured of their fidelity to me, I promised to comply with their request, with so much more satisfaction, as I desired nothing more ardently than to convince the company how much I was devoted to their wishes. After their departure, I assembled a committee of the principal associates, to whom I declared my intention to receive Mr. Stephanow again into our society. They all consented to my resolution, except Mr. Panow, who declared that I should have more than one occasion, hereafter, to complain of this infamous man, for whom, as a relation, he had so much cause to blush. This day Mr. Meder bled twenty of the associates.

According to the report, three sick; the pump clear. Latitude in 41 degrees, 28 minutes; longitude in 4 degrees, 26 minutes. Wind north-north-west; course south-west one quarter west.

Saturday, July 9. Pursuant to my resolution, I caused Mr. Stephanow to be called, and acquainted him that he was forgiven, and received into our society; at the same time that I exhorted him to desist, at length, from his enormity to me, and represented to him, that he ought not to doubt the sincerity with which I offered my friendship, as it was entirely in my power to clear myself of him. He appeared extremely satisfied, and promised, on his faith and honour, to conduct himself with more delicacy in future: he spared no oaths to confirm his repentance; and, as a final confirmation, he entreated me to assemble the whole company, before

whom he was desirous of publickly acknowledging his fault, and demanding pardon. And though I excused myself, by observing, that I neither could nor ought to permit such a proceeding on his part; yet he persisted, and intreated those present to second his proposal; assuring them, that he should not enjoy any peace, until he had convinced the whole company that his heart and his words agreed. As I saw it was not in my power to change his resolution, I begged Mr. Crustiew to comply with Mr. Stephanow's demand.

After the departure of Mr. Crustiew with the penitent, I expressed my joy to Mr. Panow, to see his relation at length recalled to reason; but this gallant man assured me, that I should find myself deceived in my hopes, as he knew him too well to hope for amendment. He added, that he believed him, at that moment, to be truly disposed to keep his engagement; but that he would lay any wager, that, before eight days were expired, he would give new proofs of the wickedness of his disposition; for which reason, he strongly urged me never to place any confidence in such a wretch.

At five, P. M. word was brought, that the hoops of one of the water casks had given way, and the water was entirely run out; and that another cask was two-thirds empty; so that no more than three casks and some pots of water remained, with about nine hundred pounds of fish dried, or in the form of bread. In a state of extreme anxiety, and extenuated by continual fatigue, I passed a cruel night; and as it was necessary to conceal my uneasiness from the associates, this restraint overcame me to such a degree, that I was several times, during the night, ready to faint. There was no reason to hope for rain or dew, as the season unfortunately was dry; and I had no knowledge of the position of the neighbouring lands, upon which I could place any well-grounded expectation. At day-break I assembled the whole company, to give them an

account of our situation, and to propose that they should be put to the allowance of half a pound of fish, and half a bottle of water a day; and in order to convince them of the truth of what I asserted, I caused the provision of fish to be brought upon deck, where, instead of nine hundred pounds, we unfortunately found only four hundred and sixty pounds; and upon examination, the water proved to be much less than three casks. This situation reduced them to despair, for they assured me that it would be impossible to support life on such an allowance of such food as the fish, which likewise produced extreme thirst. Their representations were but too true, as I knew by my own experience; and to prevent every dispute concerning the distribution, I divided our provision among all the associates, and every one received his part, consisting of about four pounds and three quarters; and I reserved the biscuit, though damaged, for the use of the women. Several of the associates received their provisions, weeping bitterly; and others cursed those who had led them to the revolution at Kamchatka.—Such was the scene which now presented itself before my eyes.

According to the report, six sick; the pump clear. Latitude in, 39 degrees, 40 minutes; longitude in, 5 degrees, 0 minutes. Wind south-west one quarter west; course south-south-east.

Sunday, July 10. Clear weather, and excessive hot; a strong breeze, but unsteady. At sun-set the wind freshened, and the clouds drove along with great swiftness. At eleven, P. M. it thundered, and the clouds broke; very little rain fell on board. At four, A. M. handed the small sails. The vessel lying along, made a considerable quantity of water; for this reason, I gave orders for covering the upper works with tarred sail cloth.

Latitude in, 38 degrees, 0 minutes; longitude in, 5 degrees, 0 minutes. Wind west-north-west; course south-west one quarter south.

Monday, July 11. A strong gale, and cloudy, with continual thunder and lightning. Prudence required us to lay to, but our situation did not admit of it; for this reason, I encouraged the associates to continue the service, but unfortunately they were all so disheartened, that I despaired of keeping the ship by the wind. A dreadful night succeeded this day, with every horrid circumstance that can be imagined at sea; the fore and mizen topsails were at once blown from the yards, and the noise of the torn sails encreased the fears of the company. The wind encreased by sudden gusts, which threatened to dismast us entirely; and as none of the associates would go aloft, it was impossible to hand the topsails. At three, A. M. the mizen mast was split by the lightning, but it did not take fire. The deck was constantly filled with water; and if the wind had changed with that rapidity which I have so often experienced in my navigation, we had been lost without resource; happily, however, it continued in the same quarter.

According to the report, twenty-three sick; cleared the well from twenty-eight to six inches water. Latitude in, 36 degrees, 25 minutes; longitude in, 3 degrees, 0 minutes. Wind west-north-west; course south-west one quarter south.

Tuesday, July 12. Messrs. Crustiew and Panow represented to me, that several of the associates, having consumed their provisions, were in danger of perishing by hunger, if I did not find some expedient. They had already broke forth in exclamations of despair: being therefore obliged to apply my thoughts to the invention of an expedient, I fell upon that of boiling some skins of beavers, and seasoning them with whale oil. I communicated this idea to my friends, who received it with gratitude. To make a trial, I gave orders to scald and clean a skin, and then boil it. At six, P. M. it was entirely prepared; and when I found that this

ragout was capable of preserving us from dying with hunger, I immediately distributed it to the associates. The eagerness with which they set about preparing their meal, made them forget the danger we were in from the impetuosity of the wind, and it was not possible to employ them in any other service on board; so that the whole care of the vessel fell upon me and the officers. Throughout the night the wind continued with unabated violence, and the swell of the sea began to threaten us with the last extreme of danger; when all at once, about four, A. M. its force slackened, and I was not a little surprized to perceive that the sea became smooth, almost immediately. This circumstance indicated the vicinity of land, but in what direction to seek it, was a thing impossible to be determined. At day-break my companions thanked me for having employed my thoughts in procuring them some nourishment; and as there was no other provision on board, I caused some skins to be dressed for the sick. Mr. Meder informed me, that several of the associates had washed their shoes and half boots, and that, at the instant he was speaking, there were more than twenty pair in the pot. In fact, this report was confirmed; and I could only groan at the scene of misery, which, in the space of twenty-four hours, could not but be greatly encreased by the want of water.

According to the report, twenty-nine sick; the pump clear, as usual. Latitude in, 35 degrees, 4 minutes; longitude in, 1 degree, 0 minutes. Wind west-north-west; course south-west one quarter south.

Wednesday, July 13. The weather clearing up gradually, with some intervals of sun-shine, I gave orders to open the hatches, to air the vessel; after which we cleared the wreck of the mizen mast, and bent another mizen stay sail, which had been carried away. To replace the mizen mast, I made use of a main topmast, which I had taken in exchange at

Kamchatka; and, notwithstanding our weakness, we succeeded in getting it stepped before dark. During the time we were employed in this work, the women were busied in unpacking the skins. They consisted of seven hundred and eighty-two beavers, two hundred and sixty-eight foxes, and one thousand nine hundred sables, all which were distributed to the company. At day-break we discovered a great quantity of floating weeds, and saw birds which resembled eagles. This sight renewed in my mind that glimpse of hope, which alone enables us to surmount obstacles that appear invincible. About noon we observed the clouds become black to the southward, and we waited with impatience for a squall, to supply us with some provision of water. Our expectation, however, was deceived, for the wind remained steady.

According to the report, twenty sick; the pump clear as usual. Latitude in, 33 degrees, 50 minutes; longitude in, 358 degrees, 56 minutes. Wind west-north-west; course south-west.

Thursday, July 14. Clear hot weather; a strong and steady breeze, with a following swell. Mr. Meder informed me, that there were no more than fifty pints of water on board, and that he thought it proper to keep at least half for the sick. I gave him orders accordingly, to reserve half, and the rest was distributed among the associates at day-break. For my own part, having no longer any expectation of means to remedy the want of water, I resigned myself to that fate, which overwhelmed me by such dreadful trials, and being no longer able to find any ground for hope, I passed the night in respiring the cool air. The break of day at last appeared, and the freshness of the morning revived me a little. At seven I assisted in the distribution of the water. My companions received it with avidity, and several among them drank it off at the instant; others, more careful, were attentive in preserving it.

After the distribution, as I concluded it to be impossible that I should much longer support life, and finding myself oppressed with weakness, occasioned by hunger, I presented my chart to the company, and pointed out to them, that we were still two hundred and forty, or perhaps three hundred leagues from the coast of Japan; that I had no knowledge of any island near us, and that consequently six or seven days would be required to reach it, even with a favourable wind, of which there was no probable appearance; and as I did not apprehend that I could support life for such a length of time, in our present circumstances, I thought it proper to point out to them the course they might hold, in case they should be so happy as to survive. This natural confidence with which I opened my sentiments to them, affected them strongly, and it was not without the most forcible emotions, that I beheld them all eager to offer me a part of their lots. On this occasion, Sudiakow declared, that he still had three salt fish in his chest, which he offered me, as well as a pitcher of water, which he had saved out of his own allowance. This noble action was universally applauded, and he received the sirname of Generous, which the company gave him. Being forced to accept this assistance, I consented, on condition of his sharing it with me. When I took the meridian altitude, the company requested me to direct my course to Japan.

According to the report, eighteen sick; the pump clear, as usual. Latitude in, 32 degrees, 36 minutes, longitude in, 357 degrees, 15 minutes. Wind from north-west to north-north-west; course south-south-west.

Friday, July 15. Fine weather, with the sun shining strongly; a current setting to the westward. Saw a number of birds, among which we supposed some to be land birds, which gave new hopes to the company. Several on board having drank the sea water, were

seized with a violent vomiting. Mr. Meder attempted to correct the sea water, by infusing tea in it; but this precaution did not deprive it of its bitterness. I made a trial of it myself.

At sun-set, two of the company from the mast-head cried out land. Every one immediately hurried aloft; but the sun being set, they could see nothing. The men who thought they saw the land, informed me, that it lay a little to the southward of west; I therefore set all the sails, and ordered a strong night watch; but having sailed from the time they thought they saw the land, till four in the morning, over a space of twenty-four leagues and three quarters, they were convinced that they had taken the clouds for the land. At five, A. M. nothing was seen from the mast-head but very thick clouds before us. At this time my dog, Nestor, stood on the forecastle, continually barking, and snuffing up the air. Mr. Meder observing this circumstance, ran to me, and assured me, that he no longer doubted of the vicinity of the land, as he knew it to be usual for dogs to smell it. Mr. Kuzneczow himself went to the top-mast-head, swearing that he would not come down until he saw the land. At eight he called out land, but a moment after, cried that he had mistaken clouds for the land. At nine, Saccharie, my American, looking out a-head with the rest, called out, Alaksina, Alaksina, and pulled me towards the forecastle, saying in Russian, of which he had learned some few words, "Come along." When I came on the forecastle, he shewed me the place with his finger, continually repeating Alaksina, though none of us could discover anything. I called out to Mr. Kuzneczow, informing him, that the American saw land; but Kuzneczow replied, that he saw nothing. I therefore sent Saccharie to the mast-head, to shew him the place, and sent up my telescope. At half past nine, Mr. Kuzneczow at last called out land. On his assurance, I went up myself, and had the pleasure to see

at last, the prospect of our sufferings being mitigated. At eleven, the land being evident before us, I sounded, and got ground in twenty-eight fathoms; and after sailing within a quarter of a league of the coast, we anchored in fourteen fathoms.

According to the report, twenty-six sick; the pump clear. Latitude in, 32 degrees, 47 minutes; longitude in, 355 degrees, 8 minutes. Wind north one quarter west; course west 5 degrees north.

Saturday, July 16. At anchor, near an island, at one quarter of a league distance, in eighteen fathom water. Wind from north to north-north-west. At two, P. M. sent Messrs. Panow and Kuzneczow ashore, with twelve associates in the canoe, to examine the coast, and endeavour to find some harbour, in which we might moor in safety. I sent several casks likewise, that they might bring some water. At nine we saw three fires on shore, which were the signal of the discovery of an harbour; but the fires appeared to us to be two leagues distant to the north-west of our anchorage. At eleven the boat returned with four men, and some water, which was eagerly consumed. Sibaew informed me, that Kuzneczow had discovered a very commodious bay, on the northern side of the island, into which fell a rivulet of fresh water; and that he begged I would send back the boat, that he might return, at day-break, and conduct the vessel to her moorings. This happy news was very comfortable to every one on board; but the continuation of his narrative was still more satisfactory, when he assured me, that there was a quantity of hogs and goats on the island. At this recital every one was desirous of going on shore; and it was with the greatest difficulty that I could retain a few of them on board to work the ship. The associates, attending only to their own wants, seized the shallop, and departed, to the number of forty-nine. After the departure of the shallop, I

sent the small boat likewise, armed with six men, to obey the orders of Mr. Kuzneczow.

At a quarter past five, A. M. weighed, and made sail under the topsails. At six, saw the small boat out at sea, and continued my course along the coast, north-west one quarter north; the prospect on shore was very agreeable. At eight it became calm, and I was obliged to anchor again in twelve fathoms. At the same time I gave orders to Mr. Kuzneczow to go in search of the shallop, that they might return, and tow the vessel in. At half past nine the shallop and canoe arrived, and I entered the bay, in which I moored in six fathom water, and at the distance of sixty fathoms from the shore. One of our cables was fastened on the shore, and the sheet anchor was down, at the distance of one hundred and twenty fathoms to seaward.

According to the report, eighteen sick; the pump clear. Latitude in, 32 degrees, 47 minutes; longitude in, 355 degrees, eight minutes. Wind north the first part, afterwards calm; course west, 5 degrees north and north-west.

Sunday, July 17. Sent the sick and the women on shore, leaving only four men and two officers on board, as a guard. Employed this day in cutting wood, and erecting huts and tents, as well as a storehouse, to land our whole cargo. Mr. Wynbladth undertook to raise a battery, in which he placed two three-pounders. The associates, who had gone on shore the day before, brought several pieces of game for the sick; and a goat; others brought different fruits and plants, of a delicious taste. I forbad them, however, to eat them raw; but when boiled or roasted, they proved very good and wholesome. The abundance of water, and plenty of provisions, soon made the company forget their past sufferings; and their conversation ran entirely on the happy and comfortable situation before them. For my part, I rejoiced at the event, which had delivered

me from the horrors of a cruel death, and the reproaches of my companions.

The night was fine, but the beauty of the sky did not prevent me from employing the whole in sleep; for my frame, exhausted with fatigue and watching, had need of rest. At day-break, I assembled the whole company, to appoint the different services. Some received orders to guard the vessel; others were employed in the fishery, in the chace, or in setting up the water butts; repairing the sails, &c. After this distribution of their labours, I declared my intention, that, as soon as we had made up our provisions, I would set sail for Manilla, on the Philipine islands, from whence we might most easily return into Europe. My declaration was received with great coolness, and the company replied, that they had need of repose, in the first place; and afterwards, they would consider what steps were the best to be taken.

According to the report, eighteen sick.

Monday, July 18. On shore, on the island of Liquor; a name which my companions gave to this island, on account of the excellent water they found here. At two, P. M. Loginow, who had been sent to discover the interior part of the island, with four associates, returned, and brought pine apples and bananas, in great quantities, with several bundles of wood, with which, he assured me, the island abounded. But that which excited the greatest astonishment was some pieces of rock crystals, and stones, containing metallic particles, which were very heavy, and shone like gold. The sight of the crystal inflamed the imagination of my associates: they began to reason upon the circumstances, and concluded, that as the surface of the earth produced crystal, it doubtless contained diamonds at a greater depth. The mineral they had found, could be nothing, in their opinion, but gold. It was to no purpose that I represented, that

appearances were often fallacious; that rock crystal would not change into diamonds; and that the pretended ore of gold, might be nothing more than marcasite. My representations were not attended to; the illusion had taken too strong hold of their minds, to be dissipated in as short a time as it was formed; and the vivacity with which the associates had made their resolutions, gave me reason to apprehend serious consequences. Five of them presented themselves to declare, that the associates, being worn out with the fatigue and sufferings they had experienced during their voyage, had determined to fix their abode upon the island for some months; and that with so much the greater readiness, as they found sufficient abundance of provisions; and that, during this whole time, they meant to employ themselves in digging into the earth, to collect a quantity of ore, and blow up the rocks with a view of coming at the basis of the crystal, that they might collect a quantity of gold and diamonds, which would be useful to them on their return to Europe. They accompanied this declaration with oaths, that they were determined not to change their resolution: and they demanded, that I would give them my promise to conform to their will; but as I did not think proper to give my word immediately, I dismissed them with a promise, that I would consider of their propositions, and give them my final answer the next morning.

After their departure, I assembled my friends, to deliberate upon the steps proper to be taken. They advised me to submit to the pleasure of the company, as the law of the strongest; and represented to me, that the associates, being on shore, would listen to no reason: and as I was well acquainted with their obstinacy, I had every reason to expect they would come to extremities. Their advice gave me no consolation; for, by yielding to the will of the company I had nothing to expect but intrigues and cabals, the

issue of which might be of fatal consequences to my party. I therefore passed the night in contriving projects to bring them to their senses.

At day-break I found my tent surrounded with the associates, who demanded my resolution. My friends kept at a distance, to assist me in case of need. In this situation, I thought it best to represent to them, that I had determined to have the ore examined, to be convinced whether it contained gold or not; for I thought it would be very absurd to give ourselves the trouble of collecting stones, without deriving any advantage from them. I therefore requested my companions to nominate two amongst themselves, who understood metallurgy, to make the assay; and at the same time declared to them, that in case the ore turned out productive, I would immediately determine to remain upon the island, as long as they thought proper: but that the discovery of the crystal would avail us nothing, as I was assured that crystal was never found in diamond mines. The associates were so firmly persuaded that the ore could be nothing else but gold, that they were satisfied with my answer; and deputed Andreanow and Ribnikow, two goldsmiths, to make the assay. It was with the greatest satisfaction that I gained so far on the minds of such a number of headstrong people. My friends complimented me upon my success; and Mr. Panow assured me, that he would do every thing in his power to destroy the cabal, which he supposed to be the work of Mr. Stephanow.

According to the report, fourteen sick.

Tuesday, July 19. Fine calm weather, but excessively hot. This day a large quantity of fish was brought, half of which I caused to be dried, for our provision, and the other half was distributed among the company. Mr. Baturin informing me, that our stock of salt was considerably diminished, proposed to make a boiling; I gave him three Kamchadales to assist

him. About two, I made an excursion into the country, in company with Mr. Panow and Mr. Wynbladth: we found it very agreeable, and abounding with cocoa nuts, orange and banana trees, with a certain fruit which resembled pears, but as they were too acid, we did not eat them. On one of the small hills, we found several pieces of crystal, and of cinnabar; but the most agreeable discovery we made, consisted in the sight of about fifty hogs. We followed them, with a view of killing some; when the young pilot, Potossiow, came to inform me, that Mr. Stephanow had assembled a party of the associates, to whom he had spoken with emphasis, and that they had all retired into the wood, to make an oath. Upon this information, we returned towards our camp, where we arrived at the beginning of the night, which was one of the most beautiful I ever beheld: the sky was without a cloud, and the stars shone with a brilliancy and lustre that was delightful to behold. I first directed my steps towards the tent of Mr. Crustiew, who was surprized to hear the relation of my discovery; and assured me, throughout the whole day, he had not quitted Stephanow, except for half an hour, which appeared to him to be too short a time to form a confederacy: but Mr. Panow assured him that Mr. Stephanow was capable of any thing; and that he believed him to be guilty. The former behaviour of the man led me to adopt the opinion of Mr. Panow; and I thought proper to take measures to prevent a plot. With this intention, I assembled those friends to whom I could speak with confidence; their number amounted to thirty-six persons. I immediately detached six on board, to relieve those in the vessel; twelve others were disposed to guard our small pieces on shore, and the rest remained under arms, to keep a regular guard, without affording any cause of suspicion. Things being thus disposed, I waited for day-break. At seven in the morning, the hunters were the first who presented

themselves, to inform me that they had been unsuccessful, and had seen nothing; though I was well assured that they had been with Stephanow, instead of following the chace. I concealed my displeasure; but could hold no longer, when I heard that all those, whom I had appointed to repair our casks and sails, had refused to continue their work. I therefore gave orders for a general meeting to be held at noon.

According to the report, eight sick.

Wednesday, July 20. Weather as yesterday. The company being assembled, I explained our situation, in strong terms; and the pains which I had constantly taken to satisfy the desires of the company. I complained of their ingratitude towards me, which was shewn in a new mutiny. I took notice of the obstinacy of the people not to work, which would lead us to the most dreadful necessity; and I demanded the reasons which had led them to a resolution so unworthy of men of spirit and honour. Several of the associates pointed out Mr. Stephanow, and cried out, "Speak and we will support you." Upon this signal the wretch spoke, by loading me with invectives, and threatening both myself and Mr. Panow with speedy death. I interrupted him in his imprecations, and made a speech, in which I thanked the associates for having hitherto shared my labours. I declared that I had preserved the command over them for no other reason than to preserve their lives, in a voyage of great danger and difficulty; but that, at present, as the greatest dangers were past, I should entirely surrender the command; and that they had nothing to do, but chuse a chief. With respect to myself, I informed them, that as I had nothing more to hope from men so destitute of honour and probity, I was determined to quit them, and live rather with the wild beasts, than among a set of ungrateful men, whose future conduct could not fail to be made up of crimes and wickedness.

After this discourse, I retired; saying, "Let those who have affection and attachment follow me." I was followed by those whose attachment I knew, and by twenty-two others, who had appeared, till then, doubtful. On my return into my tent, I found myself with fifty-two companions, besides six on board. I had nothing, therefore, to fear from the conspirators, and employed the night in deliberating what was best to be done. At day-break, I was informed of the arrival of deputies from Stephanow's party; who informed me, that having made themselves masters of the vessel, they had it in their power to abandon me; but that their designs were more noble, as they assured me, that they would acknowledge me for their chief and king, provided I would promise to remain upon the island with them; and that, to convince me that they were not come to impose upon me, three of their party would remain with me; and the company, as soon as they should be informed of my resolution, would put Mr. Stephanow into my hands, that I might have nothing to fear on his part. The surprize of the vessel, filled me with consternation; but I concealed it as well as I could. My disgrace appeared inevitable; for what could I do upon a desert island without a vessel? For this reason, in order to recover some influence over these headstrong people, I invited them to a meeting, at which I promised to discover the sentiments of my mind. The company immediately assembled, excepting Mr. Stephanow with ten associates, who were on board. I then represented to them, that no one among them could be more truly desirous of fixing his residence on this happy island, than myself, but that various reflections prevented me from adopting this resolution, and in order to shew them that they were well-founded, I declared to them, that our company consisting of a great number of men, and only eight women, the disproportion would hinder our union; and that, in fact, it was merely this want

of women which had prevented me from making the proposal to them of fixing our residence upon the island: But at length, as I saw they had taken their resolution, I would acquiesce in their wishes, upon one single condition. Hereupon, they all cried out, "Hear, hear." I then declared, that my intention was tc sail for Japan, and there make a descent near a town, from which we would carry off as many women as we could seize, together with cattle and grain. I concluded, by protesting, that if they would engage to second me in this project, I would promise to settle with them upon the island, to which we might easily return, and that one month would be sufficient for carrying the project into execution. I had scarcely finished my declaration, before they all exclaimed, "Long live our Chief, long live our General;" and they came one after the other to kiss my hand.

Finding them brought to this point of submission, I required them to go on board, and bring Stephanow on shore; for I declared my apprehension, lest that madman might end his exploits by setting fire to the vessel. This fear took such instantaneous hold of their minds, that they ran with the greatest precipitation to the landing-place. Stephanow seeing his party run, supposed them to be attacked by my people, and came on shore to join them; but he was strangely surprized, when his own party seized him, and brought him to me, where I confined him under the guard of Mr. Sibaew.

According to the report, four sick, and one prisoner.

Thursday, July 21. A light breeze from the eastward, and fine weather. I assembled the company, to renew their oath of fidelity and obedience towards me; at the same time that I made oath, that, after having carried our enterprize upon Japan into execution, I would return to the island of Liquor, to make the settlement of our company. After this ceremony, I

gave orders for continuing the works, the chace, fishery, and collecting of fruits and vegetables for our voyage. With regard to Mr. Stephanow, I released him from confinement, on condition that he should publickly beg pardon of all the company; but as it was no longer convenient that I should entrust him with any part of the service, I contrived that the company should declare him incapable of holding any employ. This unhappy man requested me to leave him upon the island, but I refused to comply with the suggestions of his despair, by representing to him, that I hoped to mitigate his disgrace, when we should return again to the island, for I durst not acquaint him with my real intentions. My clemency astonished him, and he acknowledged himself guilty, &c. The associates being delighted with the project of forming a new colony, which might hereafter become an empire, worked all night, and, as Mr. Panow informed me, entirely neglected the assay of the ore, with the firm intention of performing that part of their scheme upon their return. The night was clear and fresh, and the whole company in good health. The fish we caught were very good, and wholesome, and our meals were diversified with excellent fruits and game. Mr. Panow, having taken with him six good marksmen, went out to shoot hogs. At day-break I found the associates still at work; and our business went on with spirit.

At nine, I gave orders to carry all our provisions on board, and eighteen casks, which had been set up and filled with water. Mr. Baturin having taken an account of our provisions, shewed that we were very well stored for one month. This day I gave orders to erect a cross, with the following inscription:—

"In the year 1771, on the 16th of July, the corvette "St. Peter and St. Paul, anchored in the harbour of "this island, commanded by Maurice Auguste de "Benyowszky, Magnate of Hungary and Poland,

" General of the Republic of Poland; made prisoner of " war by the Russians, and exiled, by order of the " Czarina, to Kamchatka, from whence he had the good " fortune to make his escape, by the force of his courage. " This island is not inhabited: it abounds with different " wild fowl; the sea affords excellent fish, and its fruits " and water are wholesome. It is situated in 32 degrees, " 47 minutes latitude, and 355 degrees, 8 minutes longi- " tude, from Bolsha, in Kamchatka."

According to the report, one sick.

Friday, July 22. Mr. Panow, on his return from the chace, brought us two boars, and several pintado birds. We salted the flesh, and carried it on board. At four, our effects being on board, and the wind freshening from the eastward, I determined to raise our camp, and give orders for our embarkation: at nine in the evening all the people were on board; we were employed till eleven in unmooring, and exactly at midnight I set sail, the weather being very clear, and the wind blowing fresh from the eastward. We got out of the harbour with difficulty; but when once we had doubled the point, we had a calm sea, and as fine a wind as we could wish, with which we sailed pleasantly along. Finding myself at length under sail, and having nothing more to fear, I had a quiet sleep. At day-break the land was out of sight, and gaiety prevailed among the associates, who did not seem disposed to make any complaints on the want of provisions or water.

According to the report, one sick. Latitude in, 32 degrees, 56 minutes north; longitude in, 353 degrees, 57 minutes. Wind east; no current; course west 5 degrees north.

Saturday, July 23. Fine hot weather, with a fresh breeze from east-north-east, and a long swell; the sea yellowish, and entirely changed in colour, which induced me to sound, but we found no bottom. At five, saw a double rainbow. The associates complaining of exces-

sive thirst, I caused them to put nitre in their drink, which they had composed of fruits boiled in water.

According to the report, one sick; the pump cleared. Latitude in, 33 degrees, 13 minutes north; longitude in, 352 degrees, 0 minutes. Wind east-north-east; current from the southward; course west-north-west 5 degrees west.

Sunday, July 24. Excessive hot weather, inclined to squally, the wind becoming irregular, and by sudden puffs changing from east to north; a swell from north-west. At six, saw land, which we perceived to be an island, and sailed round it, to the northward. In the night the wind fixed at the north-east, and continued fresh. This day, perceiving that all our rigging was slack, I caused it to be set up.

According to the report, all well; the pump clear. Latitude in, 33 degrees, 27 minutes north; longitude in, 349 degrees, 34 minutes. Wind north-east; current from south to north; course west one quarter north.

Monday, July 25. The heat increasing, and the wind continuing with the same force. Saw a number of black serpents along-side. At four, P. M. saw several bushes floating along-side, several of which we hooked in; a piece of silk was fastened to one of them. This discovery convinced me that we were near Japan; but as I found no bottom, I inferred that we were in the Archipelago of islands, which surrounds Japan. I therefore kept a good look out in the night; luckily, however, we met with no obstacle. At day-break, the men at the mast-head called out land, but we could not perceive it from the deck till between nine and ten; and afterwards, as our course led us right towards it, we saw it very distinctly at noon.

According to the report, all well; the pump clear. Latitude in, 33 degrees, 28 minutes north; longitude in, 347 degrees, 0 minutes. Wind east-north-east; current south; course west.

## A FLEET IN SIGHT

Tuesday, July 26th. Very fine weather, with a hot sun. Made sail for the north cape of the island, which we soon passed. The associates requested me to permit them to land, the first opportunity, in order to examine those islands, which might probably be inhabited. I promised to satisfy their desire, and that with so much the more readiness, as it was of essential consequence to examine the neighbouring coasts, of which I had no positive chart with me, except a few positions of head-lands, which I procured out of different collections, at Kamchatka. At half past three, P. M. Mr. Kuzneczow, being at the mast-head, called out a sail, and soon after four; and, in a short time, he declared that a great number were in sight. I immediately went aloft, with a perspective glass, and saw that it was a fleet; among which I perceived three large vessels, and that the whole were standing to the north-west. The approach of night prevented my reaching this fleet. We handed the lower sails, to be in readiness to come to; and in the night I advanced, with the lead constantly out; but at three, A. M. we set all our sails, and at six low land appeared in sight, a-head. At nine, being at the distance of no more than two leagues, I stood off and on, and sent the small boat, with Mr. Kuzneczow, and six associates, to make discoveries upon the island.

According to the report, all in good health; the ship near an island. Latitude in, 33 degrees, 41 minutes; longitude in, 345 degrees, 0 minutes. Wind north-east; current from the southward; course west one quarter north.

Wednesday, July 27. Upon approaching the island, the current drove us to the westward, near seven leagues in five hours. I fired several guns, as a signal for the small boat to return, but not seeing her, I came to anchor, at three, P. M. in forty-eight fathoms. The boat did not return till eight. Mr. Kuzneczow informed me, that the island was not inhabited, but that he had

found several huts, built of planks, round which he saw a quantity of fish bones, whence he inferred that the Japanese frequented this island only for the purpose of fishing. The night being clear and star-light, weighed anchor precisely at midnight, with a light breeze, and smooth water. At four, A. M. saw an island on the larboard hand, and at six another land on the starboard. I directed my course through the channel, and about eleven was in the midst of the channel. At noon I caused a sketch * to be taken of the northern extremity of the island, which bore south-east, and the land on the starboard, which bore from north to north-west.

According to the report, all well; the ship in good condition. Latitude in, 33 degrees, 44 minutes north; longitude in, 343 degrees, 12 minutes. Wind north-east one quarter east; current from the south, course west by north; depth of water thirty-eight fathoms.

Thursday, July 22. Very fine weather, but hot; an irregular sea, with a strong current from south-east to north-west. At one, P. M. saw another land to the south-west, and I resolved to continue my course through the channel, with the boat a-head, and the lead constantly going. At five, saw three vessels, at the distance of four leagues a-head, standing across the streights, from south to north. In the night we saw fires on all the coasts. A. M. made sail, and at day-break we entered a bay; and as the lead shewed that the bottom was regular, I stood in for the shore, with so much the greater safety, as the current was against us. At eight our soundings were sixteen fathoms, coral rock, and sand. Our vessel appeared to be in the midst of a forest, for there were near one thousand vessels around us, who were busied in the fishery, without giving themselves any trouble at sight of us. Several of them passing near us, cried out, *Fiassi to Holland*,

* These have not come to the hand of the editor.

*Fiassi to Sindzi;* and the others cried out, *Namandabuz.* At eleven, a vessel, very neatly built, approached and hailed us: her masts were ornamented with streamers, and several colours, upon which I perceived some inscriptions; but as we were at a loss to reply to the captain in the Japanese language, he at last sent us his yawl, with cordage, and by the gesticulations of his sailors, we comprehended that he meant to assist in towing us. I immediately passed the ends of two hawsers on board the yawl which carried them on board their own vessel; they immediately lowered their sails, and by means of upwards of eighty rowers, they towed us along with incredible swiftness. When we came near the shore, I anchored in twelve fathoms, at the same time casting off the hawsers, which were brought back by the Japanese yawl, none of whose people would consent to come on board; and when I was desirous of making them some return, they refused, at the same time pointing to their necks, doubtless by way of letting me know that they durst not accept any thing, under pain of death.

According to the report, all well; at anchor in a bay at Japan. By estimate, latitude in, 33 degrees, 56 minutes north; longitude in, 342 degrees, 20 minutes. Wind north-east one quarter east; no current; at anchor in twelve fathoms; off shore three quarters of a league.

Friday, July 29. In a bay on the coast of Japan; fine weather, but excessive hot. Wind variable from north-east to south-east, and a strong tide. Gave orders for immediately preparing our arms for service, and loading our cannon with grape-shot, to be ready in case we should be attacked, as my companions pretended. At two, P. M. ordered Messrs Wynbladth and Kuznec-zow on shore, with twelve armed men. Mr. Wynbladth was charged with a letter, written in Dutch, containing a declaration respecting my voyage, and a request for a supply of provisions. With the letter I sent three

beaver skins, and six martens, as a present to the chief of the place; but as I did not think proper to expose my people to the mercy of the inhabitants, I weighed, and towed the vessel, by means of the shallop, to the distance of two hundred fathoms from the shore, where I anchored in five and one-half fathoms, fine sand. Soon after we saw three small boats row towards ours, and afterwards followed them on shore. The interposition of a rock, prevented us from seeing their landing, which gave me great uneasiness. My uneasiness increased every hour, as I saw no one return till nine at night, when the centinel called out, that he observed three fires approaching the vessel. Having seen the appearance myself, I armed the shallop with sixteen men, and sent them upon discovery. They soon returned, and Mr. Panow, who was commanding officer, called out, that our boat was on its return, attended by two boats of the country, and that our people appeared joyful. Soon after, we heard Mr. Kuzneczow, who called out to us to throw them three ropes; which being immediately done, Mr. Wynbladth came on board, with a Japanese, very well cloathed, and armed with a sabre. He came on board with confidence, and made a long harangue, every word of which was perfectly unintelligible to me. In order, however, that I might comprehend some part of it, I sent for Bocsarew, who had learned this language during the space of three years, at Irkuczk, in Siberia, from a Japanese, who had escaped shipwreck at Kamchatka, and after being taught the Russian language, at Moscow, was maintained by the senate to teach Japanese to the Siberians. Unfortunately it turned out that Bocsarew had forgotten most part, and remembered only a few compliments, with which he regaled the Japanese. But as I was anxious to know the report of Messrs. Wynbladth and Kuzneczow, I consigned the Japanese to Messrs. Panow and Bocsarew, who introduced him into

my cabin. The following was the report of Mr. Wynbladth:—

"As soon as we were joined by the Japanese boats, "who came to meet us, they made a sign by placing "each his left hand on his breast; we did the same; "and after this ceremony, the Japanese made a thousand "other signs, none of which we understood, excepting "that they wished us to go on shore. I went on shore, "with eight associates, leaving four in the boat, to keep "her afloat. We there found two hundred men on "horseback, and an equal number on foot, armed with "bows and lances, who likewise saluted us politely; "but perceiving that we were desirous of repairing to "the town or village we saw before us, they offered "us horses; we mounted, and were thus conducted, in "ceremony, to a castle at the extremity of a village, "which is about one quarter of a league distant from "the landing place. Here we dismounted, and were "introduced into the court, in which we were very "politely received by a person of distinction, who con-"ducted us into an extensive hall, built on columns. "Here we found another great man, seated on a sopha, "who said to us *Fiassi guzarimas*, which we did not "understand, and therefore we only saluted him, and "made a sign that we did not comprehend him. The "second words he spoke were, *To Golland*, which I "understood, and made a sign that we were not "Hollanders. Afterwards he said *To Sindzi*, to which, "upon my making a sign that I did not understand "him, he continued his questions, *To Pilipine*, *To* "*Braki*, *To Masui*, *To Tungusi*; and as I had always "answered in the negative, he beat a drum which was "near him. Upon this signal several servants entered, "to whom he gave orders, and immediately afterwards "they returned with books and rolls of papers; he "unrolled them, one after the other, and having at last "found what he wanted, he made signs for me to

" approach, which I did. He then shewed me a chart, " in which I distinguished Japan, China, the Philipine " Islands, the Indies, and a tract of unknown land, " nearly occupying the space and position of Europe. " He took my finger, and directed me to place it on " the map. I comprehended that he sought for the " country from which we came. I shewed him Europe, " which astonished him very much. He shewed his " surprize, by crying out, *Namandabez* several times; " and afterwards, as he seemed to doubt what he had " learned, I availed myself of the assistance of the chart, " and made signs to inform him, that the duration of " our voyage, and the hard weather we had experienced, " had exhausted us, and that we were in want of pro- " visions. He seemed to comprehend me, and made a " sign, by pointing to his mouth and his belly; after " which he called his servants, and spoke with them a " considerable time. For my part, being desirous of " hastening my return, I presented to him the beaver " skins, and the martens, making a sign that they came " from you, and that I was only the bearer, at the same " time that I presented the letter, which he accepted, " but he would not receive the presents; and as I " recollected that the Japanese in the boats had re- " fused our offers, by making the sign of pointing to " their necks, I imitated them. This great man then " conducted me into a neighbouring chamber, where " I found a woman, to whom I gave the present, and " she gave me a basket filled with flowers which I have " brought with me.

" After coming out of this chamber, we found a " gentleman in the hall, to whom the chief of the castle " likewise spoke a long time, and then dismissed us. " This gentleman became our conductor, and led us " back, with the same escort, to the landing place, " where we found two boats filled with provisions, " which we have brought on board. The gentleman

" came in our boat, and is the same who is now on " board."

After having heard this account, I entered into my cabin, to shew civilities to the Japanese officer, and to gain his favour, I presented him with two pair of sables. The present appeared to him to be considerable, for he made us understand that he should be contented with one; but, at last, finding himself pressed to accept the whole, he shewed, by signs, that it was of consequence, that the present should be kept a secret, and he concealed the skins, by carefully wrapping them up.

When he came again upon deck, he gave orders for unloading the boats, which was done in a moment, after which he took his leave, and would not permit us to make the smallest present to the boatmen.

The provisions received on board, consisted of twenty-five sacks of rice, four pots of soft sugar, four jars of tea, one jar of tobacco very finely cut, eight hogs, sixteen jars of preserved fruits, a quantity of onions, oranges, lemons, pine-apples, and other fruits, two casks of salt fish, six casks of a very agreeable kind of wine, and about fifty fowls; but that which afforded the greatest pleasure to my companions, was the sight of three barrels of very strong spirits.

Day-break surprized us in our labour of hoisting these good things on board. The wind, during the whole night, blew from the south, and in the morning, we had a slight breeze from the northward, which, however, did not last above half an hour. At six I saw a boat arrive, called, in the language of the country, periaqua, with three men. They came along side, and put a young man on board, who was very handsomely cloathed, and, by his gestures, appeared desirous of conversing with me; but as it was impossible for me to comprehend him, I caused Bocsarew to be awakened, who, after many explanations, informed me, that the Japanese came to acquaint me, that a great number of

people were desirous of seeing the vessel, but that they were afraid of the cannon, called in Japanese tippo. I informed him, as well as Bocsarew could, that every one would be welcome, and, in order that he might positively understand me, I caused the tompions to be put into the guns in his sight, upon which he made an infinity of salutations and at last retired. After his departure, I gave orders to wash and clean the vessel for the reception of the company who might come, and we had scarcely ended this work, when at nine o'clock we saw three boats rowing towards us. In each of these boats we observed a person of distinction with a parasol. Mr. Wynbladth informed me, that he had seen one of these writing with the lord of the castle. As soon as they came along-side, they came on board, and we saluted them by repeating the words fiassi guzarimaz. Bocsarew being appointed to serve as my interpreter, was well cloathed, and followed my instructions with wonderful accuracy, for, at every word he spoke, he made the most profound bows. Indeed, I am of opinion, that his greatest merit consisted in this ceremonial, for it was impossible for me to gather any information by virtue of his skill in interpreting. But as I clearly understood, that the Japanese meant to testify their friendship, I gave myself very little concern about the rest. With a view, therefore, to add strength to their good intentions, I took them aside, and gave each two marten's skins, which they received with infinite joy, and a great many complimentary marks of acknowledgment. This proceeding seemed to have done us great service in their opinions. After the presents were received, they informed me that they were desirous of seeing the vessel, I, therefore, conducted them myself every where. One among them being provided with a pencil and paper, formed different characters, and when he returned upon deck, he examined the cannon, and wrote again upon his paper, no doubt an account of

their number; after which he was desirous of knowing how many we were on board, which he soon learned, for I had brought all my people on the quarter-deck. He counted them all, and wrote down their number; but when they perceived that there were women on board, their curiosity was extreme. They behaved with great delicacy, and signified by their signs, that our female companions must have suffered much; after which they departed. About eleven, A. M. we received two boats of provisions, and a portrait, together with twenty-six casks of water and two of spirits; the boatmen, as soon as their lading was hoisted out, refused to receive any thing from us, and departed. A light breeze from the southward.

According to the report, one sick. At anchor in the Bay Usilpatchar.

Saturday, July 30. Though I was extremely desirous to go on shore, my companions would not consent, but requested me to defer my intention, because the good disposition of the natives could not be depended upon. This day the people were employed in setting up the rigging. At three, P. M. we saw thirty boats rowing towards us with streamers flying, and when they came near, we heard the sound of different instruments and singing. All the vessels stopped at the distance of half a cable, except three that came along-side. Out of one of the boats an old man came on board with two boys richly cloathed. The old man presented a written paper to me, which, however was useless, as I had no one on board who could read the Japanese writing: for this reason, I sent for the Sieur Bocsarew, who, after having caused the old man to repeat his words at least twenty times, informed me, that the Ulikamhy, or King, sent me these two youths as hostages, in order that I might come to him with confidence. I answered, and shewed by signs, that I was ready to go on shore, but that I would not permit the hostages to remain on board,

because I had the greatest confidence in their Ulikamhy. I immediately gave orders to man the small boat, and went on board with four associates, the Sieur Bocsarew, and the old man, with the two boys, leaving the command to Mr. Crustiew. When we came near the fleet of small boats, all the Japanese called out Uli Ulan, and immediately preceded us, and the others followed three and three at an equal distance.

As soon as we came on shore, carpets were spread for myself and companions to sit on; immediately after which, tea and preserved fruits were presented to me. Litters were then brought, on which we were carried about a quarter of a league, followed by an armed troop, and conducted by thirteen officers. We were set down opposite a spacious garden, at the gate of which stood two Japanese centinels, who cried out Uli Ulan. As soon as we had entered the garden, we were received by two gentlemen richly cloathed, who first spoke to our old man, and afterwards saluted me by three profound inclinations. After this ceremony, they took me by the arms, and conducted me towards a small house, built in the middle of the garden. When we came near the house, the gentlemen made me understand that Ulikamhy was in the house, where, in fact, we found him in the saloon seated on a yellow sopha. His cloathing was green and blue silk, with a yellow girdle. Immediately after I had saluted him, a sopha was likewise brought me, of a red colour, upon which I sat down. Ulikamhy proposed three questions, who I was? whence I came? and for what reason I had come to Nipon? I replied, by the assistance of Bocsarew, that I was a warrior of Europe, arrived at Japan by accident, and the impetuosity of the weather; but as Ulikamhy could not well comprehend my interpreter, he bethought himself of using the assistance of painters, who having taken paper and pencils, painted figures, by which he informed me of the objects he was desirous of speaking

of. The first picture which he presented to me contained my portrait, very little resembling me, it must be confessed, but distinguishable by my cloaths, and that of Ulikamhy, who presented me a heart. To shew that I understood the explanation, I pressed the figure of Ulikamhy to my breast, who being very well contented, caused me to come near and join hands with him. He then spoke a short time to his people, who soon after caused my four associates to come in, whom I had selected expressly. Their size and tallness surprized him, and he ordered them to be measured, and their portraits to be taken, which was done in an instant, for the figures were merely sketched out. By his gestures and signs, I understood that he wished to know why I was shorter than my people. In answer I caused a low stool to be brought to support my right foot, and then he saw me in my natural height, which likewise was some surprize to him. It was with much difficulty that I could make him understand, that in consequence of a wound in battle, my right leg was shortened four inches, which caused me to lean towards that side, and deprived me of so much in height. The evening having surprized us in the midst of our discourse, the Ulikamhy proposed to me to pass the night with him, and he informed me, that he was desirous I should stay three or four nights together, because a man would soon arrive who was able to converse with me, which I very ardently wished, in order to gather some information respecting the country.

About nine in the evening, Ulikamhy departed with his attendants, and we were likewise conducted to a house adjoining to his palace, where we were regaled with tea, rice, dried fish, roast meat, preserved fruits, &c. and towards the end, with a very sweet kind of wine. We made a very bad shift to eat with little sticks, and the servants had a good deal of trouble in teaching us.

After supper, cushions were laid for us on the carpet,

where we passed a very good night. At eight in the morning, I received the report from on board, by which I found the Japanese had supplied us with one hundred sacks of rice, and twenty hogs, with a great quantity of fruits and dried fish, wine and poultry. This report was brought by a Japanese, whom I sent back with orders to set up our water casks.

About ten, A. M. we were informed, that Ulikamhy was coming. I went out to meet him, and saw him accompanied with three Bonzes, who had very large chaplets at their girdles. One of them saluted me in very good Dutch. The King came to me, gave me his hand, and made signs for me to speak with the Bonze newly arrived. I complimented him on his speaking a foreign language so well, and he politely thanked me, by assuring me, that he should be happy to do me any service. This Bonze informed me that he was born at Touza, but that his parents, having been obliged to live at Ximo, he had an opportunity of learning the Dutch language at Nangasaki, and that he had become a Bonze, to deliver himself from the yoke of the secular power. With regard to Ulikamhy, he informed me, that he was King of the province, and had married one of the daughters of the Emperor; that he was one of the most learned men in the country, being acquainted with astronomy in the highest degree, and that his soul was endued with celestial qualities, having never done harm to any one; that he was adored in his own province, and desired in all the others. He then requested I would inform him who I was, and how I came to Japan? I gave him a description of my country, and of Europe in general, which, he said, he had heard some accounts of. I informed him, that having fell in battle, I was taken prisoner by the Russians, who had violated the common law of nations, by sending me into exile at Kamchatka, from whence I had delivered myself with courage, to return to my own

country, but that contrary winds having obliged me to touch at Japan, I had come thither with fear, on account of the relations the Hollanders had wickedly published, that the Japanese put the Christians to death. Upon these last words he replied, that it was true, that there was a decree of the Emperor not to admit any Spanish or Portuguese Christian into the country, but that the decree did not affect the Christians of other nations, who had never done harm to the empire. He was going on with his discourse, when Ulikamhy sent for us: we therefore went to him at his palace in the garden, where we were regaled with fruits and tea. The Bonze related to Ulikamhy, what he had learned from me, upon which he proposed several questions concerning the manner of fighting in Europe. He condoled with me upon my fate, and made me an offer to remain at Japan, where he promised he would procure from the Emperor an important command in his armies. I thanked him for his goodness, but excused myself on account of my family, the situation of which could not but be an object which I held too much at heart. The King approved my sentiments, and afterwards questioned me respecting the Hollanders, whose true history I thought proper to relate, at the end of which, he thanked me for having told him the truth; for, he said, he knew very well that the Hollanders were but a small merchant people, who were subjected to a Prince who received money of them, as a reward for defending them with his troops. I took the liberty likewise to ask the King, whether he thought the Hollanders were Christians, and he replied, that merchants had no religion, their only faith consisting in getting money, while they gave themselves very little trouble about the belief of a God. Being well satisfied with this answer, I was desirous of proposing several other questions, but we were informed dinner was ready. I was served upon a small table, two feet

high, opposite that of Ulikamhy. The repast consisted of rice, roast meat, preserves, and a great variety of sweetmeats, with a liquor resembling hydromel. During the whole dinner, the King talked continually with the Bonze, and it was not till the serving up of the desert, that he asked me whether I was a Christian, strong enough to die in defence of the Cross. I replied, that I had no other respect for the Cross than what the value of its materials might demand, and that certainly I should never expect to find a nation so absurd as to put me to death for saying, with truth, that wood was neither more nor less than wood. Hereupon he informed me, that I had not understood him, as he meant to ask, whether I was resolved to die for my God? I answered, that by dying for my God, I should likewise die for the God of the Japanese, because I acknowledged one only God, who had created every material and visible thing. This answer satisfied him, for he exclaimed Namandabaz, and caused me to be told, that I was truly a Japanese in my religion, if I believed in nothing else. I was contented to inform him of my faith, that I had no other belief than in the only God, the Creator of all things, and that my whole religion consisted in doing as much good to my fellow-creatures as was in my power, and to injure no one. After this information, the King embraced me, and said Sindaulla, Sindaulla, which denotes very well, very well; and then he retired to take his evening's repose.

After his departure, I walked in the garden with the Bonze, who gave me an account of this rich and extensive country, its government and policy; I made a few notes at that time, to enable me to commit my observations to paper more at large at a convenient opportunity.

Sunday, July 31, 1771. At the palace of the King Ulikamhy, at Japan, at the bottom of the Gulph of Usilpatchar. The Bonze requested me, at three in the afternoon, to give orders to accompany him on board

my vessel, which he was desirous of seeing. I directed Mr. Bocsarew to accompany him, with orders to make him a present of sables, and to receive him with kindness and respect. At the same time, I sent instructions to bring on shore six pair of fine beaver skins, twenty-four foxes skins, and twenty-four sables, with forty good muskets well cleaned, and two pieces of cannon on their carriages. These cannon were models which I had found in Kamchatka; and, as the Bonze had procured for me the order and permission to bring my people on shore, I allowed a certain number of the company to land every day. After the departure of the Bonze I laid down to rest, on account of a violent head-ach I was afflicted with. When I awoke, that is to say, at eight in the evening, the Bonze returned, and thanked me for the politeness with which he had been received on board, and the presents which had been made. We supped alone, for the King, with all his attendants, was gone to a neighbouring town. During our supper, and afterwards, we continued our conversation, and I found abundance of good sense and understanding in the discourse of the Bonze. It was very late before we separated; and as the rest I had taken after dinner prevented me from sleeping, I walked out into the garden, whereupon, approaching the house of the King, I heard a female voice, accompanied by some stringed instrument. The music and the song appeared to be not deficient in melody.

At day-break I received an account, that the presents I had sent for were on their way, and that Mess. Panow, Baturin, and Kuzneczow were coming, in order to be presented to the King; that all was quiet on board, and that the associates behaved in such a manner as to make themselves beloved by the natives.

At ten Mr. Panow, with his companions, arrived, and the presents were carried into my apartment. About eleven the return of Ulikamhy was announced by a

noise, and the sound of an hundred different instruments. The Bonze recommended me to meet him, and present my companions, which I immediately did. The first conversation consisted only of the ordinary civilities; but, as the Bonze had seized a favourable opportunity to inform him of the presents, he expressed so strong a desire to examine them himself, that he postponed dinner, and repaired to my apartment. When I presented the articles, I pronounced a discourse, which was received with the most engaging attention; I then accompanied the King, where I found thirty five covered tables for three persons at each table. Every thing was served up with surprising elegance and order. During the time of dinner several instruments were heard, which, though confused, were nevertheless agreeable. After dinner we proceeded to the garden, where the arms were tried at a certain distance. The butt was a round piece of wood, covered with paper, and several of my companions distinguished themselves. The King was at last desirous of making a trial himself, and after having charged one of the muskets, he caused a horse to be brought, at which he fired with so good an aim, that it fell down lifeless. His satisfaction was extreme, and, in the fulness of his joy, he assured me, that I might make any request I chose, with the certainty of obtaining it. I availed myself of this favourable instant, to request permission, that I might return into his dominions, to open a trade under his protection. His answer surprized me, for he granted me this favour without hesitation; observing, at the same time, that my character had destroyed the prejudices he had imbibed by tradition, and that he not only granted me his protection in his dominions, but likewise would exert his influence with the Emperor, to obtain permission, that my vessels might enter all his other harbours. He assured me I might depend on his promise, as long as my views should be directed to trade only, and I should

not aim at establishing any change of religion, or endeavour to acquire power by building fortresses. He concluded his discourse, by informing me, that before my departure, he would contract engagements with me under the confirmation of a mutual oath.

Monday, August 1. Towards the evening, I saw preparations made for a grand illumination, and as my interpreter, the Bonze, was absent, I was anxious to know the cause. He arrived later than ordinary, and informed me, that the King had convened the great men of his country, to whom he was desirous of presenting me, for which reason I was requested to wait upon him; and, as he thought it necessary to inform me of the formalities to be observed, he took that trouble upon himself, after which he led me towards the great hall, where I was received at the foot of the steps by two gentlemen richly cloathed, who introduced me into the hall, and placed me immediately opposite the King, who was seated on very rich carpets, having a quantity of armed gentlemen, with their sabres drawn, beside him. In a right line between myself and the King, I saw eighteen principal Japanese seated on carpets, and a number of armed men behind each of them.

Such was the order in which I found the assembly. The Bonze stood up beside me, and near the King stood the literary lords, with paper, ink, and pencils in their hands. One of them demanded, with a loud voice, who I was? why I came to Japan? whence I came? and whither I was bound? The Bonze interpreted these demands, and I made the same answer I had before given to the King. The next question was, whether I was desirous of establishing a trade for my nation, and what it would consist in. To the first part I answered in the affirmative, but excused myself with regard to the second, because, not being a merchant by profession, I could not speak determinately to it; but I promised, that at my first voyage, I would bring

merchants with me, and should be able to enter into formal submissions. The King was content to reply, that the vessels should be loaded with furs, which I absolutely promised. The last of all his demands were, that I should bind myself never to bring to Japan any book treating of religion, and still less any Bonze of my own country, which I likewise promised; after which the Bonze told me I might retire. He soon afterwards came to me, to inform me that Ulikamhy was about to retire to the town of Kilinigue; but that before his departure, he would make me presents, and give me a flag, by which I might be known on my return to Japan; and that the King, moreover, was desirous of entrusting me with a gentleman, to make the voyage with me, on condition that I should bring him back the earliest opportunity.

About nine in the evening I received advice from on board, that all was in readiness for sailing; that the ship was full of provisions; and I learned with pleasure, that the women on board had received visits, and several presents, from the Japanese women. About ten, supper was served up in my apartment, at which the Bonze and my officers were present. At six in the morning I was informed of the arrival of the presents of the King, which were brought by two gentlemen, the Bonze preceding them. He declared that he had orders to accompany me on board, or to remain with me all the time I might chuse to stay until my departure. The presents consisted of a sabre, ornamented with gold, and suspended to a belt wrought with fine pearls; a complete service of porcelain, gilt; a quantity of tea and tobacco; a flag, to be displayed upon my return, containing an inscription; a little box filled with different jewellery; and another box, containing fifty pieces of gold, each weighing two ounces and a quarter, intended to defray the expences of the voyage of the young gentleman whom the Bonze presented to me.

Being informed that the King was already gone, I acquainted the Bonze, that I was likewise determined to go on board, which being interpreted to a gentleman present, palanquins were soon brought, in which we were carried to the sea side: here we found a prodigious number of people, who cried out "Uli ulan," &c. As soon as we came to the harbour, near thirty boats appeared, with whom we went on board, in company with the Bonze and two gentlemen, who perceiving that my small boat was worn out, sent on shore for another, which was built in a superior manner, quite new, and varnished. They presented us with this in the name of the King; and for my part, I made new presents to the Bonze and the two gentlemen. These last put into my hands two rolls of papers, containing, as the Bonze informed me, permission to return to Japan. They all three recommended to my care the young man, who was to go the voyage with me; and I did not observe any embarrassment in him, at finding himself among strangers. They then returned to the shore, and on my arrival on board, Mr. Crustiew informed me, that the associates had carried on a very advantageous trade with the Japanese, to whom they sold a quantity of furs, and received, in exchange, gold, porcelain, pearls, and other articles.

According to the report, all well.

Tuesday, August 2. On board the corvette, St. Peter and St. Paul, at anchor in the gulph of Usilpatchar. A light breeze from the eastward, and fine weather. This day I assembled the whole company, to determine whether we should carry our project into execution, and make an incursion, according to the plan stipulated at the island of Liquor; but not one of them ventured to reply. I then took advantage of their silence, and declared, that I thought it would be most advantageous to continue our course to Canton, in China, where we might sell our furs, and return to Europe; and after-

wards, under the protection of some sovereign power, carry into execution a more certain project of forming a permanent colony, in which we could not fail, as we had the good fortune to open the trade of Japan. These words were scarcely spoken, before the whole company cried out, that I might follow my own pleasure in all things, and they would punctually obey. Upon this assurance, I gave orders to hoist our Japanese colours, and set sail. At three, P. M. having saluted the country with twenty-one guns, we set sail to the southward. We met an immense quantity of fishermen in our way, all of whom, at sight of us, called out "Uli "ulan." The night continued fair, with a light breeze.

According to the report, all well. Latitude in, 34 degrees, 0 minutes; longitude in, 341 degrees, 30 minutes. Wind from the eastward; current from the south; course south-west.

Wednesday, August 3. Under sail. Several of the associates threw themselves at my feet, and intreated me to anchor again upon the coast of Japan, in order to procure them new opportunities of trading, and turning their furs to account. I granted their request the more readily, as I was desirous of becoming acquainted with the coast; but I promised to consent to their wishes on condition, that they should behave with the most exact subordination. At sun-set, the weather appeared squally to the northward. At day-break we discovered an European vessel before us. I resolved to chace her, but I soon observed the Dutch colours; and as the vessel stood to the south-south-east, I pursued my course, and suffered her to go on unmolested. I sailed along the coast of what I took to be a peninsula.

According to the report, all well. Latitude in, 33 degrees, 36 minutes; longitude in, 340 degrees, 20 minutes. Wind east-south-east; current south-east; course south-west one quarter south.

Thursday, August 4. On the coast of Japan, in

sight of land, and in soundings of twenty eight fathoms; coarse sand and shells mixed with coral; all sails set, weather lowering, and a rising sea, with a fresh breeze from the south-east. The night was dark, and at ten, P. M. a storm began, attended with thunder and lightning. About three, P. M. a heavy shower fell, and abated the wind. At day-break, we found ourselves driven on the coast by a strong current from south to north. Finding that we were near an opening, which promised to lead us into some good road or harbour, I suffered the ship to drive, and at last came to, in sixteen fathoms. The small boat was immediately lowered into the water, and Messrs. Kuzneczow and Panow, with eight associates, went on board; and the Japanese passenger, who was to be put on shore in the shallop, with sixteen armed associates, followed under the command of Mr. Crustiew, to support the small boat, in case of need. After the dispatch of the boats, I gave orders for cleaning and loading our arms, and priming our great guns afresh.

According to the report, all in good health; the ship making no water. Latitude in, 33 degrees, 34 minutes; longitude in, 339 degrees, 12 minutes. Wind south-east; a strong current from the south; course south-west, but the current drove us to the north-west.

Friday, August 5. At anchor on the coast of Japan, to the westward of the kingdom of Idzo. At two, P. M. the boats returned with a large Japanese vessel. When they came near us, Mr. Kuzneczow called to us to weigh our anchor, and send out towing ropes to the small boat, the shallop, and the Japanese vessel, to carry us into the harbour, which I accordingly did. Mr. Kuzneczow coming on board, informed me, that having happily arrived on shore, the Japanese, at first sight, fled before him; but after they heard the Japanese passenger call to them, they returned, and in consequence of his information, they had been very eager to

shew their politeness to our people; that they proceeded to a village, where they were received with acclamations of joy, and the inhabitants gave them rice, tea, fruit, and a very agreeable liquor; that during their repast, a Japanese, armed with a sabre and lance, came and conversed with the passenger; after which he addressed his discourse to Mr. Kuzneczow, by pronouncing the words "Nanghasaki Kallas "Tohollandi Fiassi Guzarimas," and that immediately he ordered a boat to be got ready, giving them to understand, by signs, that he proposed to follow us, to conduct the vessel into the harbour, which he performed to our very great satisfaction.

At six we arrived at the mouth of the harbour, where we moored in eleven fathoms, muddy bottom. The Japanese boat quitted us, to go on shore, and soon returned with five others, which towed us to another situation, where we anchored in five fathoms, good anchoring ground, consisting of mud. The Japanese seeing us safely at anchor, left us, when I took the precaution to moor the ship. At ten, a well-cloathed Japanese came on board, who informed me, by the interpretation of Mr. Bocsarew, that he was appointed to guard us; after which he immediately retired, and we soon perceived three long boats at anchor near us, each having three signal lights. On my side I likewise kept a sharp look out on board, with lighted matches hanging beside the guns. In the night the wind veered round to the south-west, and blew with such violence, that we thought ourselves fortunate that we were in a harbour. At seven in the morning a boat came alongside, and three gentlemen came on board, who questioned me, whence I came? how long I proposed to stay? whither I was bound? whether I was a Hollander? and in that case they requested a letter for Nanghasaki; and, after all, they desired to inspect the vessel, and demanded how many people we were on

board. My answer was, that I came from afar, and was on my way to Nanghasaki; that I had anchored there to avoid the tempest; that I was in want of provisions and water; that I was desirous of trading; and, lastly, that our number amounted to one hundred and fifty men, who were in want of every thing, but that the vessel should not be inspected. I know not whether Bocsarew interpreted well or not, but I perceived they were not satisfied with us, for they made signs that they did not believe we were Hollanders, pointing to our beards and clothing, and at the same time exclaiming, "Hay, to Gollandi, To Pilipines;" whence I understood that they took us for Spaniards, coming from Manilla. I gave them a letter for the Hollanders, to the following effect:

*Copy of the letter given to the Japanese, in the Bay of Misaqui, to be forwarded to the Hollanders at Nanghasaki.*

"Health to the officers in chief of the Factory of the "Dutch East India Company.

"I ACQUAINT you, gentlemen, that finding my- "self upon the coast of Japan, whither I was driven "by a series of those incidents which often at sea "compel the navigator to seek his safety wherever he "can, I find myself in distress, which cannot be "described; for which reason I have thought proper "to address myself to you, and to request you to send "me an interpreter, and assistance to conduct me to "your port. My ship is a corvette, with near one "hundred persons on board. An answer, if you please.

"I have the honour to be,

"GENTLEMEN,

"Your servant,

"MAURICE AUGUST. BENYOWSKY."

" P. S. In order that you may not be prejudiced by " suspicions against me, I declare to you, that having " been chief of the confederacy of Poland, I had the " misfortune to be made prisoner by the Russians, " whose sovereign exiled me to Kamchatka, from whence " I have made my escape, by the exertion of courage " and valour, with ninety six companions; and in con- " sequence thereof I am now upon the coast of Japan, " in my way to return to Europe."

After the departure of the Japanese, my companions, despairing of being able to open the trade without fighting, requested me to leave the harbour as soon as the wind should slacken; to which I consented, and immediately got under way, with a favourable breeze from the north-north-west.

According to the report, all in good health. Under way, sailing out of the port of Misaqui.

Saturday, August 6. Saw several thousand fishing boats, many of whose nets we broke, not being able to avoid them. We continued our course, with all sails set, the sea being calm, and a strong current from the south. At day-break no land nor vessel was in sight.

According to the report, all in good health. Latitude in, 32 degrees, 56 minutes; longitude in, 338 degrees. Wind north one quarter west; current from the south; course west.

Sunday, August 7. Wind and weather as yesterday. About sun-set, saw twenty or twenty-two vessels standing to the north-east. My companions being enraged at the disappointment of their hopes, at our second anchoring place, requested me to fall on those vessels; but I refused, as I did not mean to give the smallest cause of discontent to Ulikamhy; I therefore continued my course, with the wind and tide in my favour.

According to the report, all well. Latitude in, 32 degrees, 53 minutes; longitude in 336 degrees, 18

ninutes. Wind north by east; current from the south; course west.

Monday, August 8. A pleasant breeze; the sea somewhat irregular, and fine hot weather. Continued our course, with all sails set. The night was clear star-light.

According to the report, all in good health. Latitude in 32 degrees, 51 minutes; longitude in, 333 degrees, 15 minutes. Wind north-north-east; current from the south; course west.

Tuesday, August 9. Fine weather, as yesterday. About sun-set we thought we saw land in the north-west quarter. At midnight saw several headlands. At day-break, found ourselves on the coast, and the wind being in our favour, I determined to come to. At noon, perceiving the entrance of a bay, I proceeded, and anchored in eighteen fathom water, coarse greenish sand.

According to the report, all well. Latitude in, 32 degrees, 45 minutes; longitude in, 330 degrees, 22 minutes. Wind north-east; current from the south; course west one quarter south.

Wednesday, August 10. The position of the vessel not permitting me to see all that happened on shore, I ordered Mr. Kuzneczow and Mr. Wynbladth, with eight associates, to land, and endeavour to insinuate themselves into the minds of the inhabitants; but the violent reception my companions met with, gave me reason to apprehend disagreeable consequences; but happily my fears were calmed, by the prudence of Mr. Kuzneczow, who, seeing the Japanese determined to defend the landing, returned. After the arrival of the boat, and upon the assurance that there was a town situated upon the coast of the bay, I weighed, and approached within one hundred fathoms of the shore, where I anchored in six fathoms; the night favoured my enterprize, and at day-break we were moored before

the town. At seven in the morning I sent Messrs. Panow and Crustiew with Bocsarew as an interpreter, and twenty-two armed associates, having likewise mounted two pieces of artillery in the shallop.

After having dispatched the shallop and the small boat, I embarked myself in the Japanese yawl, which I had received as a present at Usilpatchar, and as it was the lightest, I landed first. The Japanese seeing us near the shore, presented themselves armed with lances and sabres, and appeared disposed to oppose our descent; but perceiving by our countenance that we were determined, at any rate, to land, they retired to a small distance. When I came on shore, I made signs to the Japanese to approach, and immediately an old man, of a good appearance, advanced, and demanded by what right we had landed in their country, and whether we had the permission of Daisi; observing, that the Dutch never came on shore without orders. I caused him to be answered, that we were neither Hollanders nor Spaniards, but men, and friends, who came for water and provisions. Whereupon the man replied, that we should have provisions and water sent on board, but that it was necessary we should ourselves go on board again. But as I declared that I would not quit the land before I had received provisions and water, the Japanese hastened to load three boats, with which I went on board. Several of the Japanese having come on board, began to trade with my people, and hastened to return again to shore, whence they arrived with ten other boats, laden with copper, porcelain, tea, sabres, silk, and gold, which they exchanged for furs. These commercial transactions familiarized them with us, and several among them testified their attachment; among others, a young man said much to me, without being able to make himself understood; when, being out of patience, he repeated, "To Hollandi, To Sindzi, Pupu "Tippo," which I understood, and in answer, led him

to the guns, and said, "To Gollandi, pu." Towards noon the Japanese retired.

According to the report, all in good health. At anchor on the coast of the island Xicoco, in the harbour of Tousa.

Thursday, August 11. Extremely hot weather, with some showers at intervals. About two, P. M. we heard a great noise on shore resembling the beating of many drums, and soon after we perceived on shore a quantity of men on horseback, armed with lances and darts, and a still greater number on foot, who hastened on board an infinite number of boats. Upon this appearance, I immediately sent Mr. Panow, with Bocsarew, and eighteen associates, to declare to the Japanese, that I was desirous of being informed of their intentions, that I might receive them either as friends, or enemies. But they had hardly put off before I perceived three small boats rowing from the shore, the middle one of which had five flags, and near fifteen streamers. I took these for marks of distinction, and therefore prepared myself to salute them on their arrival. Our small boat at last accosted the Japanese, and performed its commission; and afterwards returning with them, I saluted the Japanese by a running fire of musquetry, intermixed with the discharge of six of our great guns. This mark of politeness was sufficient to have driven our visitors back, for their fear was such, that they fell on their faces in their boats, and could scarcely be persuaded to rise by any encouragement of Bocsarew, who urged them to proceed. But as I was ignorant of all this, I gave orders to fire six additional guns, at the instant the Japanese gentleman entered the ship, which was accordingly performed. His terror at this noise was so great, that he fainted away, and it was more than a quarter of an hour before he was able to speak. To revive his spirits, I gave him some Japanese wine mixed with sugar, which comforted him, and restored his

courage. I then caused Mr. Bocsarew to ask what he had to say to me. He informed me, that he was Uchaymi Mamas, commander of the guard of the coast of the kingdom Touza; and that being informed that we were strangers, who arrived in the country without orders of the Emperor, he was come to arrest us; and to prove that we ought to obey him, he drew a large roll of paper from beneath his habit, which he presented to me. Upon this, pretending to be ignorant, or not to understand what he said, I received the roll, and gave it to Mr. Crustiew, with orders to keep it; at sight of which the poor devil requested his paper, and pointed to his neck, to shew me, that by losing his deputation, he should be punished with death. To set him at ease, I caused his paper to be returned; but informed him, by my interpreter, that I esteemed his master, and should be his friend, as long as I should be convinced that he was just, when assured of the contrary, I should despise him. At these words Mimam shut his ears, and I found great difficulty in making him understand, that he might think himself very happy that I did not arrest him himself. The tone of assurance with which he saw me speak to the interpreter, softened him, and I seized the opportunity to make him a present of a beaver skin, and six sables, which he was very glad of; and I saw him retire with satisfaction, and promises of friendship.

After his departure, being convinced that we could not carry on any regular commerce at this place, I weighed, and taking the advantage of a breeze from the northward, made sail, and stood to the south. At day break we saw a vessel, on which I fired, but he would not come to, until a shot struck him. I then sent my shallop on board, but we found her to be only a fishing vessel, and let her depart in peace.

According to the report, all well; the ship making no water. Latitude in, 32 degrees, 15 minutes; longi-

tude in, 350 degrees, 16 minutes. Wind north; no current; course south.

Friday, August 12. Fine clear weather, and excessive hot, with a moderate breeze. Doubling a cape we saw four barks; after which I stood for a short time, but as they directed their course to the north-west, I gave up the chace, and stood again to the southward. At six, P. M. saw land on the starboard bow, at the distance of five leagues, for which reason I kept only the topsails set. About three in the morning we were so near the shore, that we heard the breakers; and at day-break we saw the danger we had happily avoided. At seven we saw another land a-head, and as we approached it very rapidly, we saw it very distinctly, at ten, bearing due south, and a small island south-west. My companions proposed to me to make a descent in a bay, then in sight, and I could not resist their pressing solicitations. I therefore anchored in twenty-two fathoms, between the small and the large island; but at a very short distance from the latter. Mr. Kuzneczow was immediately dispatched, with eight associates, and I sent the shallop after him. When we had entered the sound, which we at first supposed to be a bay, the small boat passed very near a large bark at anchor, whose crew shot at them with arrows, and at the same time near sixty boats put off from the shore, so that my people were in great danger. I was advised of this by two reports of the pateraroes which I heard, and I immediately weighed, and proceeded to support my detachment, by entering the sound. I soon perceived the state of affairs, and standing towards the great bark, I fired two shots into her, which drove all her people from the deck. The shallop then went along-side, and took possession of the vessel, while, on my part, I approached the shore, and anchored in four fathoms and an half, at the distance of half a cannon shot off shore, whither I likewise caused the Japanese

bark to be brought, in which we found fifty-six men, four of them being mimas, or gentlemen; revenue officers of the Emperor. The lading of the bark consisted of tobacco, sugar, silk, varnish, porcelain, one hundred pieces of leather, some bales of cotton and silk, several chests of sabres, belts, and other articles of wearing apparel.

According to the report, two sick; the ship making no water. Latitude in, 30 degrees, 38 minutes; longitude in, 329 degrees, 51 minutes. Wind north; current north-east; course south one quarter west.

Saturday, August 13. At anchor near the island Tacasima. I assembled the company, to decide what was best to be done; and the society determined to take the lading of the bark on board, and quit the island. But that which gave me the most satisfaction, was, that my Japanese passenger, who had accompanied Mr. Kuzneczow, was wounded by an arrow in the attack. We provoked him, and he declared to Bocsarew, that he should be very glad if we would kill all the prisoners, as he assured us that they belonged to the island Ximo, all whose inhabitants were wicked, and good for nothing. Mr. Bocsarew succeeded in making himself more clearly understood by him, for which reason I availed myself of the services of both, to examine the officers who were prisoners. They replied, that they were civil officers, charged to collect the revenues of the island Tacasima, and of the island Nanghasaki; that they had entered the harbour only a moment before us, having seen at a distance the chace I had made of several barks, likewise carrying officers to collect the revenues in the southern provinces; that they had entered Tacasima with no other view than to put the inhabitants on their guard against us; and that they had only done their duty in attacking our people. I caused my interpreter to answer them, that I approved their zeal, and that their want of success was no fault

of theirs; but that, as they were now in my power, I thought it proper to prevent them from doing me any injury, and for that reason I should confine them till my departure. They entreated that I would not detain them, for they said that they were ordered to repair, in the course of eight days, to the port of Vranda, to join the convoy, which would depart about the end of the month, to the number of five hundred vessels, for the port of Osachta; but when they understood that they were no longer permitted to hope that I would restore their vessel, they shewed signs of the utmost despair. Their prayers, however, were in vain, for my companions certainly were not disposed to attend to them; and all that I could obtain was, that the lives of these unhappy people should be spared.

At five in the evening, I sent four of them on shore, to demand boats, that the rest might be landed; but it was not till seven in the evening that six boats came off, in which I sent them away, under the conduct of sixteen of my associates. About nine I weighed, and made sail, and with much difficulty (by the assistance of the boats which towed us) we got out of the sound. As soon as we were in the open channel, we continued our course to the south-west during the whole night; and as my companions were unacquainted with the manner of working the bark, I was forced to take her in tow, which impeded my course. For this reason I determined to take her lading on board, which was done in the course of the day, after which we scuttled and sunk her. The cargo of this bark would have been worth three or four hundred thousand livres, French money, if we had been in Europe.

According to the report, one sick. Sprung a leak. Latitude in, 30 degrees, 0 minutes; longitude in, 528 degrees, 0 minutes. Wind north; no current; course south-west by south.

Sunday, August 14. Excessive hot weather. The

bark to be brought, in ...anded our ex
four of them being ...ier some search,
officers of the Empe... ...ater entered in a
sisted of tobacco, ... ...gh a cleft in the fo
hundred pieces o... ...me was, no doubt,
silk, several chest ... ...associates, who, in d
wearing apparel ... ...coming alongside, ha
According t... ...of the seams under
no water. L... ...sible for us to remedy
tude in, 329 ... ...xtremely alarmed. At
north-east; ... ...the water became agita
Saturda... ...that of a river falling in
Tacasima. ... ...till noon, the pumps were
was best ... ...without being able to clear
take th... ...ntinually three or four feet
island. ... ...breeze sprung up in the north-e
was, t... ...at the mast-head called out
Mr. F... ...ship's cargo was shifted by
We ... ...she heeled to starboard to suc
he s... ...pumps could not be worked, and
as ... ...the deck. In this most deplo
Xi... ...myself at the mouth of the streig
no... ...islands, the direction of which I co
m... ...dly in the night, I determined
a... ...going. The ship soon after
o... ...ighted, I employed all my people
...hoaling, for there were near five feet w
...During this laborious business I sen
...on shore, to discover a good ancho
...about two in the morning he returne
...that he had found a good and commodi
...therefore resolved to proceed to it; and as
...the vessel by weighing the anchor,
...and stood forward under the topsail
...three we arrived at the place Mr. Kuz
...out. I found the entrance dang
...the wind increasing, and disp

stormy, I was extremely alarmed, and lowered down the Japanese yawl, in which I went a-head with four associates, after having given orders that the ship should stand after us with all the sail she could set. At four we had a dreadful storm, the sea being all in a foam, and notwithstanding our efforts to keep a-head, the ship over-ran us; and to complete our misfortune, the yawl struck on a rock off the southern point of a bay, and overset, at the distance of about two hundred fathoms from the shore. I used the utmost exertions to reach the port by swimming, but the sea was so rough, that it was not till after the greatest exertions that I reached the shore, quite exhausted. I lost all recollection of what followed, until I was rouzed by my companions, who, having taken notice of the rock on which the yawl overset, sent the small boat to take us up. Loginow, one of the people who was with me, called to them, and they at last found me in a state of stupefaction, at the foot of a tree. The information I received from them, that the ship was at anchor in a good harbour, and that the island was inhabited, made me forget the past misfortune, and I pressed them to return; but understanding that three of my associates were still wanting, I engaged them to proceed in the search of these unfortunate men, of whom we found one, named Andreanow, alive, and the other two dead upon the beach. After this we embarked, almost lifeless, and went alongside the ship, which was at anchor in four fathom water, and so deeply immersed, that I determined to run her aground upon a sand bank. At eleven, I was, by my own orders, carried on shore; for the fatigue had exhausted me so much, that I could not stir any of my limbs. My associates set up a tent, while others were employed in unloading the cargo; and Mr. Baturin undertook to bury the two people who were drowned.

According to the report, seven sick; the vessel

aground. Latitude in, 29 degrees, 0 minutes; longitude in, 326 degrees, 20 minutes. Wind north-east; current from the northward; course south-west one quarter south.

Monday, August 15th, 1771: the vessel aground at the Island of Usmay Ligon. After a lethargic sleep of four hours, I was awakened by the care of my associates, who had used continual friction. As soon as I recovered my senses, Mr. Panow informed me that we were on an Island inhabited by a people in a high state of civilization, from whom I was about to receive a visit; and a very short time after, Mr. Crustiew acquainted me that two of the islanders were then at the entrance of my tent. I received them in the best manner I could, and was in hopes of making myself understood in the Japanese language, by means of Mr. Boscarew, whom I ordered to be called. All our efforts, however, were entirely useless. They only shook their heads, as a sign that they did not understand us: but one of them presented a paper to us, on which I perceived some Latin letters. I received it with avidity, and it was with great pleasure that I read its contents in the Latin language to the following purport.

"The Health of our Lord Jesus to the Reader."

"In the year 1749, on the 24th of May, I arrived in this island, with three other companions of the society of Jesus, and being hospitably received by the inhabitants, I fixed my abode here to propagate the word of God. The chiefs of this island speak the Mandarin language, and have shewn the most ardent desire to be instructed in the Catholic Religion, which is the only good and satisfactory worship. Their zeal proceeded so far as to induce them to assist me in the laborious charge of propagating the faith, and by the miraculous assistance of the holy patron of the company of Jesus, I had the satisfaction of seeing two hundred

and sixty Neophites baptised the first year, whose zeal, constancy, and patience have confirmed my hopes. In the year 1750 my other three brothers repaired to the adjacent islands, and there is no doubt but that they performed their duty with as much zeal as myself. In the year 1754, finding myself oppressed with illness, I thought proper to communicate the present declaration to the chiefs of the island, in order that they might give the most necessary information to those of the company of Jesus, who might be conducted by Providence to this island, to enable them to employ their zeal and strength for the good of christianity, by promulgating the name of our Saviour among this people, who are sober, and of good manners, and live in the most absolute independence, both of China and Japan. Excepting some merchant vessels of those nations, no other have ever been seen here. Nevertheless I have seen Dutch vessels pass at a very small distance from this island. A. M. D. G. B. V. M. E. S. P. N. I. Done the 18th September, 1754, at the Island Usmay Ligon."

IGNATIO SALIS, Missionary to the Indies, of the Society of Jesus, and of the Portuguese Nation.

After I had perused this paper, I returned it to the person from whom I received it. But I first kissed it, which mark of respect seemed to have conciliated their esteem: they gave us to understand by signs that they were desirous of returning to inform their countrymen of the news. After their departure, finding myself entirely recovered, I went out to see the situation of the work, and I had the satisfaction to find that the vessel was entirely unladen. But my grief was extreme to see that all our furs were rotten. I gave orders therefore to open all the packages, and expose the whole to the air, with a view to save at least, part. I charged Mr.

Baturin to superintend this business, as it related to the only resource on which we could depend, when we should arrive at China. On the approach of night, we appointed a guard and centinels, and the night passed in the most profound tranquility.

At day break I was informed that other inhabitants of the country had presented themselves, to the number of three hundred, without arms, each person having nothing but a parasol in his hand. Two chiefs, who preceded them, approached me, and after having made the sign of the cross, they presented their hands, and then exhibited to me an old Breviary, which was borne upon a carpet by four men. By the inscription I saw that the Breviary had belonged to the Missionary Salis, and in order to join in the respect these islanders shewed to the memory of that Jesuit, I likewise kissed this book. I then gave orders to my companions to bring a large crucifix, which they had taken out of the Church of Bolsha. I directed them to present it to the islanders. It was covered with a veil, and as soon as this was raised, the islanders fell on their knees, and raising their hands towards heaven, cried out Hisos, Hisos, Christos, Christos, and as I saw that they would not rise as long as the crucifix was before them, I caused it to be removed; whereupon the two chiefs arose, and embraced me alternately, and gave me to understand that their friendship was sincere. It was unfortunate that we could not make ourselves understood by words, and we found much difficulty in the use of signs. I succeeded however in explaining, by my signs and gestures, that our vessel was damaged, and that we were in want of habitations and fresh provisions.

Having thus comprehended my request, they left me; and in the course of an hour we saw several boats arrive, which brought mats and wood, and others with people on board, who came to build huts for us. Another party of the islanders arrived with rice, potatoes,

bananas, sugar-canes, a kind of brandy, with provisions of fish, flesh, and fruit. These immediately set to work to cook for us all. Lastly, about noon, another party arrived with carpenter's tools, and gave us to understand that they were disposed to assist us, by working on board. I was desirous however that the company should have some rest, and therefore made signs that the work would not begin till two days after.

According to the Report, five sick: the vessel aground at the Island Usmay Ligon.

Tuesday, August the 16th: the whole company was busied in assisting the natives of the country to construct cabins, in which four of the associates might lodge together, or two officers. One hut was built for myself alone, at the head of the camp, about which we raised a palisade, flanked with four cannon.

The inconvenience we suffered in not being able to make ourselves understood by the islanders, induced me to give orders to all the company who could write, to make a kind of Dictionary of Russian words, and enquire their signification from the natives in their own language. This appeared to me to be the only practicable means of making ourselves understood.

At two o'clock dinner was served up to the company. It consisted of rice, bananas, and potatoes, stewed with flesh; and our new cooks informed us that the custom of the country was to make three meals a day. For drink they gave us a kind of hydromel and arrack.

This day, being desirous of regulating every thing which concerned our interest, I caused the work to be renewed on board by fourteen associates, under the command of Mr. Czurin: Mr. Kuzneczow undertook to repair the sails and rigging: Mr Baturin, took charge of the cargo: Mr. Crustiew undertook to look to our subsistence: the military service was put under the command of Mr. Panow, and I undertook to treat with the natives of the country, whose good and amiable

character often excited in me the desire of sharing with them an easy and happy life. For the island was exceedingly fertile; the climate though hot appeared excellent, and the people were independent. These were powerful motives to a man who was weary of being the sport of fortune: but unfortunately the hour of my repose was not yet arrived, and it was necessary for me to bear the burthen of the charge I had undertaken.

In the evening several islanders came to me, and being seated, they often repeated the word Dzignaro, raising their hands towards the sky. Mr. Panow was the first who suspected that they meant to pronounce Ignatio, and in fact when they attempted to repeat that word, they always said Dzignaro. The respect with which they pronounced this name, convinced me that the Missionary had skilfully availed himself of their dispositions to impress them with the most profound reverence for his religion. They left me at last with much regret. After their departure I collected the different notes of the names of things which had been made in the language of the country, according to my orders, and I had the satisfaction to find, that their number amounted to above a hundred, which could not fail of proving highly useful. Mr. Kuzneczow requested permission to make an excursion over the island with some of the associates; but I refused him that satisfaction, at the same time observing, that I was apprehensive of giving occasion to some misunderstanding between our people and the natives.

The night passed in a state of tranquility, and in the morning I was visited by an islander of distinction, whom I then saw for the first time. He was attended by a number of others, among whom I perceived several of our earlier friends; and as all the natives shewed him the most profound veneration, I judged it proper likewise to pay a particular attention to him. He was clothed in a robe of sky blue taffeta, with a long cloak of white

silk, a black sash, and wooden slippers, covered with satin. On his head he wore a kind of hat of a very fine fur. When he came near me he likewise made the sign of the cross, and took me by the hand. I did the same, and as I had learned some words of the language, I saluted him, by pronouncing the word *Tho.* He inclined his head, and smiled at my embarrassment. But I was greatly surprised to hear him speak to me in very bad Portuguese, though sufficient to make himself understood. He said, *Sinor eo sono Tunqunio vay con Padre Dzignaro estas Islas Usma Padre vay morte eo fies a ca Capiton di Genté.* I comprehended that he meant to inform me that he was a native of Tonquin, who came to those islands with Father Ignatio, and that the father being dead, he remained, and was chief of the people. This discovery of the power of making myself understood gave me the highest pleasure. I seized the immediate occasion to express my joy. He then demanded if I was desirous of seeing the tomb of Dzignaro; and upon my answering in the affirmative, he appointed three old men of distinction to accompany me. But as it was necessary to cross the bay, we embarked in the shallop, with Messrs. Panow, Kuzneczow and Baturin.

Our conductors directed us to the mouth of a river, where the shallop, not being able to enter, we anchored, and the natives called boats, which set us on shore. On our landing we found about fifty persons of both sexes, who kneeled down, and cried *Ilo Dzignaro,* (The friend of Ignatio.) Our conductors then led us to a garden, where we found an old man, busied in collecting flowers and plants. He introduced us into a very neat and well-built hut, and entertained us with tea, but without sugar. Our conductors then spoke privately with him, who immediately made a sign to us to follow him, and led us to a small hill, which overlooked a very agreeable valley, regularly planted with pulse and sugar

canes. When we arrived at the summit we found a small square building, in the interior part of which we saw an altar, and upon it a crucifix, and an image of St. Mary, which though very ill executed, was distinguished by the crescent beneath her feet, and the crown on her head.

The guardian of the chapel shewed me likewise two urns, in which the ashes of Dzignaro (Father Ignatio) were contained. At going out of the chapel I could clearly distinguish the letters I. H. S. O. H. M. D. G. B. V. M. O. S. Nque JESu, Anno 1751. I likewise observed some verses, but the writing was so much decayed that I could not make out a single line.

After having visited the sacred monuments of those people, I returned home, where I learned, with the greatest satisfaction, that the damages of the vessel would be easily repaired, and that our people were employed in making new pumps, the old ones being unfit for service. Mr Czurin having likewise informed me that the main top sail yard was sprung, I gave him orders to search in the woods for a piece to replace it, but I was answered that the natives had brought several pieces exceedingly proper for the purpose. This day I gave orders for distributing pieces of silk and cotton to the company, to make shirts, frocks, and trowsers, in order that they might all have an uniform appearance. Mr. Wynbladth, who, notwithstanding my prohibition, had made an excursion, informed me, that he had seen very handsome habitations and villages, and had observed large quantities of different fruits, such as cocoa nuts, oranges, lemons, pine-apples, bananas, water melons, sweet melons, grapes, potatoes, rice, maize, millet, peas, and other pulse; and that in the plantations he had seen bee-hives, sugar-canes, tobacco and cotton. He assured me besides that he had visited a manufactory of pottery and a distillery of spirits; and added that all the women in the villages were busied in making

stuffs, either of silk or cotton. I verified this information myself the same day, and my stay upon this fortunate island increased my ardent desire to form an establishment there.

According to the Report, two sick; the ship under repair.

Wednesday, August the 17th, we had scarcely finished our repast, when the Tonquin Captain arrived; I informed him of my wishes, and the advantageous idea I had formed of the happiness of this people. He replied, that it depended only on myself, whether I should fix my residence among them, and that if I chose it, he would propose to the nation to give me a tract of land; but in the first place he was desirous of knowing who I was; how we came to the island, &c. I told him the truth, and my narration, though it was impossible he should well understand it, affected him so much, that he wept, and offered me his friendship. It was doubtless, with a view to repay my confidence, that he likewise related his adventures, which were to the following effect.

He was born at Tonquin, of a free family, and studied at Siam in the college of Missionaries. He afterwards, accompanied a Missionary to China, who joining himself with three others, at Nankin, embarked together with himself in a Chinese vessel, called a Sampan, which conveyed them to one of the islands of Usmay. Father Ignatio established himself at this island, Usmay Ligon, and the others departed for other islands. He afterwards gave a full account of the means employed by Father Ignatio to convert the islanders to Christianity, and protested that the said Father enjoyed a supreme power in this island, until his death; after which the islanders forced him to marry among them. He observed that they had the greatest veneration for himself; but he declared that it was not in consequence of any particular right attached to his person, as the government of the

canes. When we arrived at the [illegible] men, to which small square building, in the inte[illegible]ghbouring islands saw an altar, and upon it a cr[illegible]overnment surprized St. Mary, which though very [illegible] a thousand questions, guished by the crescent bene[illegible] the constitution and on her head. [illegible] which I propose to give

The guardian of the ch[illegible]rnal of my happy residence urns, in which the ashes [illegible]urse was interrupted by the were contained. At g[illegible]ders, whom my friend Nicholas clearly distinguish th[illegible] establish myself amongst them: B. V. M. O. S. No[illegible] very agreeable to them, for they observed some ver[illegible]hey would divide their possessions decayed that I co[illegible]s in the manner of working and

After having [illegible], and would give us their daughters people, I retur[illegible]but as I saw the idea of our establish- greatest satisf[illegible] great satisfaction, and was aware that would be e[illegible] a colony it was necessary I should be employed i[illegible] a set of men, very different from my unfit for [illegible]panions; I thought it proper to inform me that t[illegible] establishment could not take place until orders to[illegible] were elapsed, which were necessary for me but I w[illegible] Europe, and return back again. I found pieces [illegible] in bringing these estimable people to my I gave [illegible] open simplicity of their answers shewed their to th[illegible] innocent dispositions. They assured me orde[illegible] would pray to God for my happy voyage, Mr. [illegible] return, and that during my stay I might had [illegible] them as my brothers. ve[illegible]

After this declaration, they demanded, why I did la[illegible] not come among them, nor permit my companions to o[illegible] live with them in a cordial manner. I declared to s[illegible] Nicholas that my only apprehension was that our good intelligence might be interrupted by the inconsistency of my companions, who might displease the islanders by caressing their women. But he set my mind at ease in that respect, by informing me that they were at liberty to connect themselves with the girls, provided

stuffs, either of silk or cotton. I verified this information myself the same day, and my stay upon this fortunate island increased my ardent desire to form an establishment there.

According to the Report, two sick; the ship under repair.

Wednesday, August the 17th, we had scarcely finished our repast, when the Tonquin Captain arrived; I informed him of my wishes, and the advantageous idea I had formed of the happiness of this people. He replied, that it depended only on myself, whether I should fix my residence among them, and that if I chose it, he would propose to the nation to give me a tract of land; but in the first place he was desirous of knowing who I was; how we came to the island, &c. I told him the truth, and my narration, though it was impossible he should well understand it, affected him so much, that he wept, and offered me his friendship. It was doubtless, with a view to repay my confidence, that he likewise related his adventures, which were to the following effect.

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island depended on an assembly of old men, to which the chiefs of the families of the neighbouring islands were often invited. This form of government surprized me, and I could not avoid asking a thousand questions, which led me to a just idea of the constitution and government of this people, of which I propose to give a note at the end of the Journal of my happy residence on this island. Our discourse was interrupted by the arrival of a troop of islanders, whom my friend Nicholas informed of my desire to establish myself amongst them: this declaration was very agreeable to them, for they assured me that they would divide their possessions with us, instruct us in the manner of working and tilling the ground, and would give us their daughters in marriage. But as I saw the idea of our establishment gave them great satisfaction, and was aware that in order to form a colony it was necessary I should be provided with a set of men, very different from my present companions; I thought it proper to inform them that my establishment could not take place until two years were elapsed, which were necessary for me to return to Europe, and return back again. I found no difficulty in bringing these estimable people to my wish; the open simplicity of their answers shewed their virtuous and innocent dispositions. They assured me that they would pray to God for my happy voyage, and quick return, and that during my stay I might consider them as my brothers.

After this declaration, they demanded, why I did not come among them, nor permit my companions to live with them in a cordial manner. I declared to Nicholas that my only apprehension was that our good intelligence might be interrupted by the inconsistency of my companions, who might displease the islanders by caressing their women. But he set my mind at ease in that respect, by informing me that they were at liberty to connect themselves with the girls, provided

they abstained from the married women, who were known by a veil which covered them. Upon this assurance, I promised that from thenceforth, considering the natives of this island as our brothers, we would visit them. But I pressed M. Nicholas to make my excuses for not having politely informed the ladies before hand, and apologized by freely telling my reasons, and the fears I had entertained. The islanders answered laughing, that their daughters were younger than their wives, and that therefore I had no reason to fear their displeasure on that account.

After this explanation, the islanders retired, no doubt for the purpose of acquainting their families, with the intention that they might receive us with kindness. When they were gone, I assembled the company, communicated my apprehensions to them, and required of each individual a solemn promise to behave with the utmost circumspection to these islanders; and having received their oaths, I declared that they were free to visit the whole island, provided one third of their number always remained at work. This news produced universal joy among them, and they immediately dispersed themselves, but without arms, as I had caused them to leave their arms with me. In the evening a meeting was held, consisting of Mr. Crustiew, Panow, Kuzneczow, Baturin, Wynbladth, Meder, Gurcsinin and Czurin, where we debated on the means of deriving advantage from the discovery and knowledge we had acquired of this fortunate island. We determined that the disposition of our companions rendered it impossible to leave any of them behind; for I was desirous of leaving a party in order to dispose the minds of the natives to receive a colony in future. Being thus disappointed in my hopes, I felt the most lively regret at not being able to profit by so favourable an occasion; and after having dismissed the meeting, I was plunged in a series of reflections which were exceedingly distressing.

At day break I repaired to the nearest village, which was not above a quarter of an hour's walk from our camp; but concealed by a thick wood. Upon my arrival near the enclosure, I was received in a small building of wood, from which I could easily see all the houses in the village. It consisted of about eighty houses, each having a court-yard before it, with a garden and several huts, or out-houses. All the houses were constructed of wood, and covered with planks, and formed a single, wide, and handsome street, bordered on each side by very lofty and tufted trees. Upon entering the village I met Nicholas, who conducted me to his house, before which all the people were assembled. He asked me if I was disposed to make choice of a girl, but, as I replied in the negative, he declared that my companions were of a better composition; and, in fact, I found few of them who were not accompanied by young women, some of whom were real beauties. My friend Nicholas regaled us with tea, and engaged the islanders to form matches at wrestling, at which they are very expert, and afterwards the young women danced to the sound of several stringed instruments. These amusements lasted till the repast was served up in the court-yard of the house, which was a square enclosure, surrounded with trees. Every head of a family caused dishes, ready dressed, to be brought from his own house, and the whole was conducted in such a manner that every one contributed his share, without the charge falling upon any individual. The women eat separately, and the young women waited on both parties.

At the end of our meal, the juice of sugar cane, which we drank, was mixed with a kind of spirit made from rice. This drink was very strong and exhilarating. From one subject to another, our conversation at last returned to the proposal made to me to choose one of their young women, which was again urged, and at last so strongly pressed, that I could not avoid

saying that I was willing to make my choice at that time, but should reserve the accomplishment of my marriage till I returned. I had scarcely said this, before the chiefs arose, and the whole company disappeared, and left me alone with my friend Nicholas, by whom I was informed that the islanders were gone to nominate seven young women to be presented to me, in order that I might choose a wife from among them. In fact, we had scarcely time to take a survey of his court-yard, his garden, and the small houses of his women, (for a plurality of wives is established and constitutional, notwithstanding the religion of Father Ignatio) before we were informed of the arrival of the islanders.

The old men first seated themselves upon mats in the court, forming a circle. Seven women, whose faces were covered, led each a young woman, clothed from head to foot in white silk, with a blue sash; their hair flowed loose on their shoulders, and was interwoven with flowers. When the seven young women entered the circle, my friend Nicholas led me likewise there, and requested me to sit down and examine these charming objects, in order to determine my choice. During this interval, one of the old men pronounced a discourse of some length, which he ended by presenting me with a veil, and by the mediation of Nicholas, he gave me to understand, that I was requested to cover her with it, on whom my affections were fixed. The choice would have been rather difficult, if it had really been incumbent on me to decide; for there were three among them who might have disputed the preference with the most perfect work of living nature. But as my embarrassment was only imaginary, I asked my friend whether my choice would not offend the others, and upon his answering in the negative, I threw the veil over one of them. The others immediately began to dance round her, and caress her, and at last

conducted her out of the house to the street, where she was preceded by musical instruments. My friend Nicholas informed me that this ceremony would last upwards of an hour, because the young woman would be conducted to every house, to announce her own marriage, and receive presents. In the mean time the chiefs were regaled with tea, and smoked tobacco.

About five o'clock I saw the new married lady return, conducted by her mother, who was about four or five and thirty years of age, and they were accompanied by a respectable old man, who was grandfather to the young woman. This old man made a speech, and embraced me; the mother put her daughter into my hands, and leaving her with me, they disappeared suddenly, as did likewise the rest of the chiefs. Nicholas then acquainted me that I must myself conduct the young lady to his house, in which he assisted me, by leading the way. At the door of this house she quitted me, and Nicholas attended me back to the camp.

During our walk, he informed me, that the newly married young woman was the daughter of a very devout christian mother, who had been constantly attached to Father Ignatio; and as he had mentioned his grandfather to me without telling the name of his father, I questioned him positively on the subject. He at first affected concealment, but at last confessed that Seignior Dzignaro was his father, and he had likewise two elder sisters, who were among the seven presented to me for my choice. He informed me that the young person I had chosen was named Tinto Volangta, (or luminous moon) and that I might certainly expect her soon at my own place of residence. He then left me, after promising to come again to visit me in the morning.

As soon as I found myself alone, I informed my companions of my adventure, and several of them determined to pass the night with me, in order to avoid

certain embarrassments; and to answer this purpose more effectually, I requested all the female companions of our voyage to be present, to amuse those who might come from the village. At nine o'clock I was acquainted with the arrival of a body of young women, who came towards our camp singing. Their number amounted to twenty, and they were received and introduced by our women. But as soon as Tinto Volangta entered my hut, the others retired, so that I found myself under the necessity of having a female companion. It was a fortunate circumstance that one of our lady passengers was greatly interested by the young islander, and gave her much entertainment by singing and music; but the rest of our conversation was pantomime.

The break of day surprised us without sleep, except the Usmayan lady, who fell asleep about eight o'clock. When she awoke, two other young women attended to dress her, and afterwards staid with her. At ten my friend Nicholas arrived with a numerous company. I went out to meet them, and upon being informed that they came to make a treaty, or oath, I gave immediate orders for assembling our company. The heads of the contract were, that the inhabitants of Usmay Ligon, should acknowledge me as their friend, and that I should engage in an attachment to them. That as I was about to leave them, only with the intention of returning to form an establishment among them, they would clear a piece of land on the Southern part of the island, and build a village, of two hundred houses, for the accommodation of myself, and those who might come with me. And lastly, that on my return to Usmay, I should conform to all the usages and laws of my friends.

These articles being ratified by the invocation of God, the creator of all things, I thought it incumbent on me to make my new countrymen a present. Accordingly I gave them eighty musquets, twenty barrels of powder, ten barrels of ball, six hundred Japanese

sabres, six hundred lances, and twelve hundred different articles of iron work. This present was highly valuable to them, for they had not above ten musquets on the island, and those had matchlocks. It was a very unfortunate circumstance that I could not leave a detachment on this island.

According to the Report, one sick; the ship under repair, careening.

Thursday, August 18. About two in the evening, the islanders brought ten oxen, forty hogs, a quantity of rice, millet, and other provisions. On this day likewise, having, by the credit of Nicholas, brought the chiefs to listen to my reasons, I sent Tinto Volangta back to her mother's house, whom I loaded with presents from the Japanese prize. As to my friend Nicholas, I made him a considerable present of furs, though I had but a small quantity remaining, the sea water having damaged almost all the packages. In the evening I informed the islanders of my approaching departure, at which they were greatly affected, and expressed their regret on the occasion. The open and benevolent character of this estimable people, was such as will make me ever regret that I could not fix my abode here, where the vices and wickedness of Europe are yet unknown, and the government is founded only upon the principles of humanity.

After the departure of the islanders, I ordered my people to float the vessel, and get the cargo on board. Our work commenced the next day. At nine o'clock, five of the associates appeared before me, and demanded permission to remain upon the island. I saw that their resolution was fixed; and having reason to fear that they might excite a greater number of the company to the same determination, I represented to them that they were wrong in taking such a resolution at this time, as they were sure of returning: for I protested to them that I would use every exertion, when we arrived

in Europe, to obtain a proper armament to establish a colony on the island. At first they seemed disposed to quit their purpose; but one of them, named Lapsiew, declared that it was only a loss of time to attempt to dissuade them, as they were determined not to change their mind; and therefore, that if I were disposed to give them a proof of my friendship, I might shew it by leaving them a supply of tools, arms, and ammunition. I promised this to make them easy; but I made them swear that they would not seduce any others of the company.

When they were gone, I assembled a Committee, to whom I communicated the desire of the five men. The Committee referred the business to the General Meeting, which was immediately convened, and their decision was, that leave should be given them to remain on the island. Three others joined them, and M. Stephanow was likewise desirous of remaining; but the others refused him, saying, that as they had taken their resolution for no other reason than to live in peace, they would not have an incendiary among them.

In consequence of this resolution of the meeting, I ordered Mr. Crustiew to divide what we could spare, into eight lots, in order that every subsequent controversy between our companions who were to remain behind, might be prevented by a proper division made in our presence. At eleven, we saw three large barks enter the harbour, where they anchored. My friend Nicholas informed me, that they were Japanese, from the coast of China, who were driven in by stress of weather. He requested, that I would invite them to come on shore, which they did, bringing with them a present of tea, porcelain, and some pearls.

August 19. This day we were visited by upwards of one thousand islanders, every one bringing some present. The whole amounted to upwards of one thousand eight hundred ells of cloth, two hundred and five parasols,

with a quantity of china vessels, and some ivory figures, ornamented with gold. In the evening, by the mediation of Nicholas, I recommended to the islanders those companions who had determined to remain, and they all protested that they would receive and acknowledge them as friends and brothers, and give them a share of their lands and possessions. In this manner I secured their respective interests. At four o'clock I gave orders for going on board. The value of my cargo was so much reduced, that out of a million and a half of piastres which I expected to receive at China, I had scarcely sufficient to realize twenty or twenty-five thousand piastres. The night was employed in work; and at day-break I had the satisfaction to see all my people on board. I judged it proper to assure myself of the disposition of the islanders, by a formal oath and contract, which was drawn up in the language of Lequeio, and the counterpart in Latin, signed by both parties. I took the Latin part with me, and they preserved the other. Its contents were as follow:—

"A Treaty, concluded between the chiefs and people "of the islands Lequeio, and the Baron Mauritius "Augustus de Benyowsky, in the name of the com- "pany under his direction. Contracted and signed on "the 19th of August, in the year 1771, at the island "Usmay Ligon, one of Lequeio."

"In the presence of God, who created the heavens "and the earth, We, the chiefs and people of the "island of Usmay Ligon, and the other Lequeio, of "the one part, and I, the Baron Mauritius Augustus "de Benyowsky, of the other part, do stipulate:"

"That I, Mauritius Augustus de Benyowsky, do "oblige myself, and do promise, upon my faith as a "Christian, to return to this island, as soon as possible, "with a society of virtuous, good, and just men, to "dwell upon this island, and to adopt the manners, "usages, and laws of the inhabitants."

"And we, the chiefs and people, call to witness that "God who created the heavens and the earth, that "we will, at any time hereafter, receive our friend "Mauritius, with all those who shall be his friends: "that we will share with them our lands, and will "assist them in all their labours, until their establish- "ments shall be equal to our own; and, in the mean "time, his friends, who remain with us, shall be con- "sidered as the children of our families, and treated as "brothers."

"MAURITIUS, in the name of
"the company of Euro-
"peans."

"NICHOLAS, for the chiefs and
"people of Usmay, and
"the Lequeio islands."

After the conclusion of this treaty, I assembled those among my companions who were determined to fix their residence among this worthy people. I gave them instructions for the regulation of their conduct, and at last I embraced and quitted them to go on board. A prodigious number of islanders followed me, who by their cries and tears, exhibited an affecting spectacle of goodness of heart, and tenderness of disposition. We were ready to set sail at day-break: I therefore begged my friend Nicholas to request the islanders to go on board their boats; but several of the chiefs, fastening their canoes to the vessel, determined to accompany me till my departure. I weighed, at 10 A. M. and sailed out of the harbour without any unfortunate accident.

According to the Report, the whole company in good health; the vessel making no water.

Saturday, August the 20th at sea, under the top-sails; fine weather, but excessively hot; a fresh breeze, and smooth water; saw a large quantity of fishing birds

around us. At half past one P. M. the islanders at last took their leave, and embarked in their canoes, to return to the island. About six we saw a great number of porpoises; the weather was fine throughout the night. About eleven we discovered land a-head, extending from N. W. to S. E. I therefore came to an anchor in twenty-eight fathom fine sand, and took advantage of this anchorage to set up the rigging afresh, as this part of the service had been neglected. At day-break we perceived that the whole of the standing rigging required setting up, for which reason I was forced to continue the work. During this time several boats arrived, with which we trafficked, exchanging knives, and some other trifles, for a quantity of shells, very neatly wrought.

According to the Report, all well; the ship making no water.

Latitude in 28° 43′; longitude in 327° 18′. Wind E. N. E. Current from the Northward. Course S. S. W.

Sunday, August the 21st, fine clear weather, and smooth water. At one P. M. weighed, and made sail, with all the sails set, and hauled the wind, to double the Southern point of the island. At six we doubled another small island, which lay to the Northward. About day-break we saw another on the starboard beam, to the Southward.

According to the Report, all well; the ship making no water.

Latitude in 28° 8′; longitude in 329° 2′. Wind E. N. E. ¼ N. Current from N. to S. Course S. E.

Monday, August the 22d. Fine weather and smooth water, but the heat almost insupportable. About noon the wind became variable, and veered to the Southward. It fixed at S. E. I therefore took advantage of the fine weather, and set all our sails, with which I might have made a good progress, if the wind had not abated,

and came round to the Eastward. At nine A. M. saw two ships standing from S. to N. right towards us; I therefore gave orders to prepare for battle, and appointed a number of the best marksmen in the tops. At eleven we were within cannon shot, and I then perceived that they were Hollanders, one carrying eighteen guns, and the other twelve.

According to the Report all well, prepared for battle, under the top-sails. The ship making no water.

Latitude 26° 20′; longitude in 327° 2′. Wind E. No current Course S. E. ¼ S.

Tuesday, August the 23d. One of the two vessels coming nearly within musket shot of us, fired a ball, and hailed us to come on board, and bring our papers. This behaviour of the Dutch Captain surprized me greatly, and so much the more as being entirely ignorant of the maritime laws, I knew not what he meant by my papers: for this reason I answered by four cannon-shot, and the musquetry began to play from the tops, which greatly incommoded him. He waited for his companion, who at last came to his assistance, but was contented to keep out a considerable distance from us. I then hoisted the colours of the Republic of Poland, and continued my course due S. They were at first disposed to follow me, but having observed that I made preparations for receiving them, by clewing up my courses, they adopted the wisest conduct for them, which was to put about, and continue their course; for I had determined to board one of the two, and make them pay dear for what they had done. This slight combat, the first I ever saw at sea, cost us only a few shot, and the trouble of performing our manœuvres. As to the Hollanders, I know not what their acquisitions were.

According to the Report, all well; the ship making no water.

Latitude in 24° 45′; longitude in 327° 0′. Wind E. No current. Course S.

Wednesday, August the 24th. Weather rather blustering, but without rain, and a rising sea. Being underway, with all sails set, the associates, from the information they had found in Anson's Voyage, requested me to sail to the island of Formosa, in order that they might add the knowledge of this island to their other discoveries. Their proposition was likewise agreeable to myself. I therefore promised to carry their request into execution.

According to the Report, all well; the vessel making no water.

Latitude in 23° 18′: longitude in 327° 0′. Wind E. Current from the Southward. Course S.

Thursday, August the 25th. The weather constantly disposed to squally, with rain at intervals. Conformably to the request of my associates, I changed my course, and stood to the Westward, and W. ¼ S. we had a strong current setting to the Southward.

According to the Report, all well; the ship making no water.

Latitude in 23° 22′; longitude in 325° 0′. Wind E. Current from the Southward. Course W. ¼ S.

Friday, August the 26th. About three P. M. a strong breeze arose, which obliged me to hand all the sails but the mizen. At six, a heavy rain came on, and abated the wind, which veered round to the N. E. About three A. M. I was awakened by the news of land. We had barely time to turn the ship's head to the Southward, when we clewed up the mizen, and let go an anchor in eighteen fathom water, the bottom being coral rock. At day-break we found ourselves near a rock; the island of Formosa being in sight, and appearing to be very high land. I immediately weighed, and doubling the North point of the small island, stood towards the land, and moored at the opening of a bay, in

fourteen fathom water, greenish sand. The associates were busied the whole night, in preparing the boats, and clearing their arms, which were distributed with the necessary ammunition.

At four A. M. Mr. Kuzneczow, and Mr. Wynbladth, were sent on shore, with the canoe and the shallop, with sixteen men. At eight we heard three musket shot on shore, which I answered with one of my great guns. After this we heard a constant firing. At half-past nine we at last perceived our boats, returning round a point of the land. Three of the detachment were wounded with arrows, and they brought with them five prisoners, two of whom were dangerously wounded.

Here follows the Report of Mr. Kuzneczow.

After having reached shore, in a commodious bay, where I found the soundings every where from eight to five, and three fathoms, I advanced with a detachment of ten associates, towards a fire, which we discovered. Mr. Wynbladth remained with the boats under his care, We found two Indians, and a woman, near the fire, whom we gave to understand, that we were in want of food. One of them immediately went off, and returned in less than an hour after, with three other Indians, armed with lances, who made signs to us to follow them. They conducted us to a village, and as we refused to enter into their huts, they brought us boiled rice, with roasted pork, and a quantity of lemons and oranges. The islanders appeared quiet, and were not numerous; but as I had observed a crowd, at the extremity of the village, and several armed bodies of men who went out, I imagined that they intended to seek a cause of quarrel with us; for which reason I persuaded my companions to proceed back again, in order to carry the news on board, that we had formed a very convenient anchoring place. Accordingly, after having given the islanders some knives, in return for the refreshment we had taken, we began to return. But we had scarcely reached the

place where we had first seen the fire lighted, before we heard a cry, and were attacked by a shower of arrows, which wounded three of my people. I gave orders to fire immediately on the enemy, and the first discharge checked their impetuosity, when they saw half a dozen of their party extended on the ground. For my own part, not being desirous of amusing myself in that place, I gave orders to carry one of my companions, who could not walk, and effected my retreat. The islanders were preparing to fall upon us a second time, when fortunately for us, the cannon shot, from on board, intimidated them, and caused them to leave us for a time at liberty. But when we came to the sea shore we were attacked by a great number of the savages. It was a happy circumstance that Mr. Wynbladth was on the spot. We then fell upon them, and after having overthrown at least sixty, we made five prisoners, and collected a quantity of lances and bows, which are now in the boats.

Upon this information, I would have quitted the place, as I was not desirous of exposing myself to a war with the natives; but my associates insisted that I should enter the harbour. I found it impossible to calm their fury, and for that reason, at last consented. We therefore weighed, and with a slight breeze from the Eastward, and the boats a-head, I entered the bay, and anchored at the distance of one hundred fathoms off shore.

According to the Report, three wounded, and five prisoners of war.

Saturday, August the 27th, moored in a bay at the mouth of a river, on the island of Formosa. As soon as I had got the ship moored, I ordered twenty-eight men on shore, under the command of Messrs. Baturin and Crustiew, who went on board the shallop, and rowed towards the shore. As soon as they landed, they were met by fifty islanders, who held branches of trees in their hands; and as these people came without arms,

Mr. Baturin received them kindly. They threw themselves first at the feet of my people, and by their signs gave them to understand, that they intreated forgiveness. This voluntary submission disarmed the rage of my companions, and several of them ran to the shore, and called out, that all was well. Upon these pacific appearances, the associates imagined that they might enjoy themselves in the habitations of the Indians, and declared to Messrs. Baturin and Crustiew, that they were desirous of going to the village. Their absurd obstinacy gave way to no persuasions; for in spite of the remonstrances of those gentlemen, twenty-two departed for the village. Being informed of this mutiny, I determined to go on shore myself, with fifteen other associates, and immediately directed my march towards the village, which was not far off. I had scarcely made a few steps, before I heard a violent firing and horrible cries. The noise increased, and at last I saw my people retreating, and pursued by a number of blacks, who hastily followed them. When they came near me, they rallied, but no more than seven of them were armed, the others being entirely naked, with several arrows sticking in their bodies. I gave orders, therefore, for those who had no arms, to retire towards the vessel, and rallied the others; by whose assistance I stopped the crowd of islanders, among whom I observed several armed with our muskets. Unfortunately for them, they knew not how to use them; and as they were more advanced than the others, they were quickly destroyed by our fire. Only two of them escaped, who threw down their muskets to favour their flight. At the moment the Indians made their retreat, or rather fled, Mr. Kuzneczow arrived with twenty fresh companions, who chased them out of their village, and at last set fire to it in several places. After the total defeat of the islanders, the dead were counted; and it was found that they amounted to upwards of two hundred, with-

out reckoning those who were wounded, and had fled.

On our return from this expedition, a party of the associates discovered a small harbour in the river, in which they found seven boats, and a bark in an unfinished state. They set fire to the bark, and brought away the boats, which were loaded with the arms of the islanders. As soon as this operation was ended, I went on board, and put the chiefs of the mutiny against Messrs. Baturin and Crustiew in irons.

This accident abated the desire of the company to prolong their stay. They therefore requested me to seek another anchoring place. Taking advantage of the calm, I weighed, and by the help of the boats towed the vessel out of the sound. We had scarcely doubled the north point, before the current carried us to the northward. At day break we found ourselves opposite a small bay, into which I determined to enter; but as the current tended to drive us beyond it, I came to anchor in twenty-six fathom. About eight, a light breeze sprung up, and I was preparing to set sail, when I saw two canoes rowing towards us. At ten they came near us, and one of them hailed us, crying out, Signor Houvritto, vai, vai. They made signs to us to follow them, which I did, having all my boats out to assist in case of accidents; but we happily entered into a very beautiful harbour, where I anchored near the Southern shore, with a view to be sheltered from all winds. The depth of water was three fathom, and the vessel was so near the land, that a man could jump on shore.

According to the Report, eleven wounded, three prisoners of war, two having died.

N. B. I must here observe, that I found in this season, a violent current along the island Formosa, which carried the vessel * $1\frac{3}{4}$ leagues per hour; but I observed that this current caused the vessel to follow all the

* To the Northward; as it appears from the preceding text.

sinuosities of the shore, and kept us always at the same distance from it.

Sunday, August the 28th. At anchor in the harbour † on the island of Formosa, fine clear weather, but excessively hot. We had scarcely time to coil up our running rigging, before a prodigious number of islanders, of both sexes, appeared with poultry, rice, sugar-canes, hogs, oranges, and other fruits, which they exchanged with us for pins, needles, and other small articles. Though these people behaved themselves with circumspection, I would not venture to place any confidence in them. For this reason, I constantly kept a dozen of the associates armed. About three, P. M. a crowd of islanders appeared, having at their head a man cloathed in a droll manner, partly in the European, and partly in the Indian fashion. On his head he wore a laced hat, a large sword hung by his side, his stockings were made of cloth, and his shoes were no doubt of his own manufacture. This appearance surprized me, and I immediately sent Mr. Kuzneczow to meet him; but as he could not understand his language, he brought him on board, where I learned, that he was a Spaniard of Manilla, who had lived seven or eight years among these islanders, and he had acquired the confidence of several cantons. He made me a very civil offer of his house; but as I thought it necessary to make a minute enquiry before I trusted him, he informed me, that he had fled from Manilla to the island Formosa, in a vessel, manned by six of his slaves; and that he had been forced to this proceeding, in consequence of his having, in a moment of rage, massacred his wife, and a Dominican, whom he had found in her company. He said his name was Don Hieronimo Pacheco, formerly Captain of the port of Cavith, at Manilla. This Spaniard assured me, that I might trust the people of

† A blank left in the MS. by the copyist, and neglected to be filled up by the Count.

that canton, who were the best people in the world, and thought themselves under an obligation to me for having ill-treated their enemies: for he informed me that the news of my conduct, with respect to the* had already arrived thither.

Upon this good news, I made him a present of a complete suit of cloaths, with some shirts, and a good sabre; I promised, besides, to give him fire arms, and other utensils, provided he was careful in assisting us, during our stay; upon which he promised, and declared that he would not quit me during the whole time I should remain on the island. In fact, after having spoken a short time to the islanders, they retired, and he remained with us that night.

In the evening, having received information that our water was in a putrid state, I gave orders for taking in fresh water at day-break; in consequence of which I enquired of Don Hieronimo Pacheco, the place where we could obtain the best water. He informed me that the islanders would bring me good spring water; but that there was a brook near an advanced rock, which he shewed me, in which we might obtain the best water in the world. But he warned me, at the same time, that the islanders of that canton were at war with his friends, and that it would, for that reason, be necessary to send a party of armed men thither, to guard the sailors while they filled their casks. Upon this information, I gave instructions to Mr. Panow to go early with twelve associates on the business; and recommended to him, at the same time, to be upon his guard against a surprize. Not content with this precaution, I gave orders for awakening me before their departure; and having called them all before me, I recommended to them a second time to be on their guard. They set off at last at eight A. M. having been detained to set up some casks.

* Blank left in MS.

After the departure of the boats, I entered into conversation with the Spaniard, who appeared to be perfectly acquainted with the island. It was from him I learned, that part of the island on the Western side, was subject to the Chinese; but that six parts out of seven were independent, one-third part of which only were savages, among whom we had at present fallen. He assured me, that with very little assistance, he thought it practicable to conquer the island, and drive out the Chinese. His reasoning, and the combination of circumstances which he mentioned, pleased me, and I attended to him with so much the more willingness, as I had conceived the project of carrying his plan into execution. I therefore availed myself of the present opportunity, to propose that he should return into Europe with me. But this he positively refused, and assured me, that he was sufficiently acquainted with Europe, to thank heaven that he was out of it. To this he added, that he was become familiarised with the manner of living in Formosa, and that as he had a good wife, and several children, neither his duty nor his inclination, would suffer him to leave them. Our conversation was interrupted by dinner.

According to the Report, eleven wounded, and three prisoners.

Monday, August the 29th. At anchor in port Maurice. Don Hieronimo remarked, that as the watering place was so near, he was surprized that our people did not return; and he begged me to send the shallop upon discovery. Mr. Kuzneczow immediately went with eight men, and returned about two, P. M. with the canoe and periagua in tow. As soon as I perceived them at a distance, I was surprized to see that some of them were covered with blood, and had arrows sticking in their bodies; and as I did not see either Mr. Panow or Mr. Loginow, I began to fear the worst. When the shallop came on board, Mr.

Kuzneczow informed me, that Mr. Panow and Mr. Loginow were mortally wounded, and that John Popow was the first slain. After having received Messrs. Panow and Loginow, in order to give them every assistance, I enquired concerning the fact; and was informed, that Mr. Panow having visited the environs, and discovered no signs of any person being near, had been desirous of bathing, while the associates were at work, filling the casks; and that he himself had invited the others to follow his example. But he had scarcely laid aside his arms and cloaths, when he was attacked by twenty Indians, who shot at him with arrows; that Popow was one of the first who fell dead; and that afterwards Panow and Loginow fell, and all the others were wounded; and that certainly not one of them could have escaped, if Volinsky and Andre had not fired at the islanders from the canoe, into which they had retired. They added, that they dared not return on board and abandon Mr. Panow, who from time to time gave signs of life, as well as Mr. Loginow. They were in this situation when the shallop came to their relief.

After this information, I ran to my friend Panow, around whom I found all the company assembled; but as I was desirous of hearing what he said, without interrupting him, I did not come forward. The following were the words of this invaluable friend, which will ever be present in my memory.

"My brothers," said he to his companions, "inform my friend, our commander, that my only regret at quitting life is, that I shall no longer be able to second and support his labours. Alas! he is very far from seeing their conclusion. Tell him, that I love him as my life; and that I should die contented, if I could have seen his merit and virtue recompensed. Intreat him in my name, not to revenge my death; but content himself with informing my brother of this misfortune. Take example, my friends, by me; if I had

followed the advice of our chief and friend, I had still lived. Respect and obey him as a father; and thou, unhappy friend, Stephanow, lay aside thy haughtiness, and that hatred which is concealed in the bottom of thy heart, against this worthy friend. Supply my place by thy fidelity to him." At these words I came forward; —but my God, what a sight! He seemed to have recovered all his powers. He grasped my hand, wept, and embraced me, but was unable to speak for a long time. At length, he exclaimed, "Alas, dear friend! I shall soon be no more.—I am myself the cause.—But forgive me.—My last wish is, that heaven may ever give thee friends like me.—Thou art worthy of them, and happy are they who shall know thy worth, as I do: May heaven grant, that this land, which soon shall cover my bones, may be thy patrimony."—The power of death interrupted his words, and deprived me of this dear and most valuable friend.

Loginow had paid the debt of nature a few instants before. I determined to bury them immediately; but as I was desirous of providing, that their bodies might not be disturbed, I begged Don Hieronimo, to speak with his friends, the islanders, and request permission to bury them on their territory. To this they readily consented, and we performed their funerals with the greatest order. I fired twenty-one guns on this occasion, and ordered Andreanow to engrave the following words on a stone.

"Here lies Vasili Panow, a Russian gentleman of illustrious birth and merit, the faithful friend of Mauritius Benyowsky, who was treacherously slain, with two other companions, John Loginow and John Papow, by the inhabitants of this island, on the 29th of August, 1771."

After the burial, Don Hieronimo declared to me, that his friends had determined to avenge the death of my companions; and that, consequently, they would

Kuzneczow inf ghbours. My associates
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Indi ate our warfare here; but, alas! I
was deaf. They persisted in their deter-
wa in quest of the Indians, and make them
we nce. As I saw I could make no impres-
co ds of these enraged men, I was forced
fi to direct their proceedings, that they might
l lives to no purpose.

A resolution being once made, I entered seriously into the business. For this reason, I requested the assistance of the principal inhabitants of the nation, who had given so bad a reception to us; and as he promised to accompany us, I gave him a good carabine. He requested leave to bring with him a couple of hundred of his Indian friends; in answer to which I represented, that these poor people might become the victims of their good intentions, and be slain by my comrades for want of knowing them. However, he removed my objection, by proposing, that every one of our party should wear a piece of white cloth on his left arm. This precaution appearing to me to be sufficient, I acquiesced in his demand, and he immediately went on shore to make his necessary preparations for the attack which was appointed to be made at day break.

About seven in the evening, I caused the boats to tow our vessel to the river of the massacre, where I

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proceed to attack their neighbours. My associates joined in this proposal for vengeance, which had already began by the massacre of our three Indian prisoners. While I was thus urged to come to a determination, the Spaniard informed me, that the canoe we saw rowing towards us, was filled with our enemies. My associates waited for no orders, but rushed on board the boats, and attacked them. Their first discharge slew thirteen, and the others they immediately brought on board, and hung at the yard-arm. I represented to them that this execution was enough, and that it was prudent to terminate our warfare here; but, alas! I preached to the deaf. They persisted in their determination to go in quest of the Indians, and make them feel their vengeance. As I saw I could make no impression on the minds of these enraged men, I was forced to promise to direct their proceedings, that they might not expose their lives to no purpose.

My resolution being once made, I entered seriously into the business. For this reason, I requested the Spaniard to guide my people towards the principal residence of the nation, who had given so bad a reception to us; and as he promised to accompany us, I gave him a good carabine. He requested leave to bring with him a couple of hundred of his Indian friends; in answer to which I represented, that these poor people might become the victims of their good intentions, and be slain by my comrades for want of knowing them. However, he removed my objection, by proposing, that every one of our party should wear a piece of white cloth on his left arm. This precaution appearing to me to be sufficient, I acquiesced in his demand, and he immediately went on shore to make his necessary preparations for the attack which was appointed to be made at day break.

About seven in the evening, I caused the boats to tow our vessel to the river of the massacre, where I

anchored. At three, I ordered forty-six companions on shore, commanded by Messieurs Crustiew, Kuzneczow, Baturin, Wynbladth, and Stephanow; and we only waited for Don Hieronimo, who arrived at four. They then proceeded inland, and we heard nothing till about three quarters after six, when the noise of the musquetry convinced me that the action had began. Soon after I saw a number of islanders retiring towards a steep mountain; and then it was that my companions on board directed their pieces at them, and made a dreadful slaughter. These unhappy men, seeing themselves pressed on one side by my troops, and on the other by the islanders, under the conduct of the Spaniard, threw themselves prostrate upon the ground. I was then forced to declare to my whole party, that I would fire upon them if they continued the massacre. On this message, the parties contented themselves with making prisoners, the number of whom amounted to six hundred and forty-three. The killed were reckoned and proved to be eleven hundred and fifty-six. What surprized me the most was, that among the wounded and prisoners there were a great number of women armed in the same manner as the men.

Our expedition being thus ended, without any of our side having received the slightest wound, I went on shore, and the Indians presented me with the slaves. But as I refused to keep any of them, the Spaniard chose fifty, and abandoned the rest to his friends. I contented myself with carrying all their arms on board. About ten o'clock, a party of our friends of the islanders, appeared with near two hundred women, children, and old men, whom they had made prisoners. The whole troop appeared to be overjoyed, and returned towards their habitations: but for my own part, being desirous of leaving a spot which presented nothing but the desolation of the village, which our party had set on fire, I retired with my vessel to our first station.

According to the Report, eleven wounded.

Monday, August the 30th. Having this day informed my friend the Spaniard, of my wish to establish a camp on shore, he begged I would permit him to make the necessary preparations. In consequence of my acceding to his request, he went on shore, and about three o'clock he returned with about five hundred islanders, who began to erect huts for us. Several were finished before evening. I therefore went on shore myself with the women, and such of our people as were wounded, and a guard of sixteen men. At the close of the day, the islanders set a guard of forty men on our right flank, in order to secure us, as they said, from the attacks of the allies of the nation, with whom we had been at war.

At day-break, Don Hieronimo presented his family to me, with a great number of his friends, and likewise acquainted me that Huapo, a prince of the country, was coming to express his gratitude for my having avenged his subjects upon the two nations who were their enemies. He informed me, that Huapo lived in a town about thirty or thirty-two leagues distant inland; that the central parts of his dominions were well civilized, as was also the whole Western part of the island; the Eastern coast only being possessed by a savage people, among whom, however, he excepted the territory belonging to Huapo, which was inhabited by a gentle and industrious race. He added, that the Prince Huapo could muster twenty, or five and twenty thousand armed men, notwithstanding which he was often disturbed in his capital, either by the Chinese party, or their allies.

After this information, he insinuated that it would be easy to conclude a treaty with this prince, to form establishments in his country, the productions of which consisting in gold, crystal, cinnabar, rice, sugar, cinnamon, silk, and particularly the most beautiful kinds of

wood, might form advantageous branches of commerce; in exchange for which they would receive a quantity of hardware, iron, and European cloth, to the profit of two hundred per cent. to the sellers. Such was our conversation, when it was interrupted by the arrival of the Bamini, or General. The Spaniard immediately hastened to meet him, and I caused my companions to honour him with three discharges of their musquetry. When he had arrived near my barracks, he caused a tent to be put up, the ground underneath being covered with a rich carpet, upon which he seated himself, and invited me to do the same. The Spaniard stood up to attend us, and serve as my interpreter.

After the first civilities, he demanded who I was; whence I came; what cause had determined me to land on the island of Formosa, &c. I replied to his questions in short, that I was a General of a kingdom, who, having been made prisoner of war, had effected my escape with a party of my people to return to my own country; that having found the island of Formosa on my way, I anchored on the coast to procure water; but that the cruelty exercised by the two nations towards my companions, had demanded vengeance, which I had satisfied, and was preparing to return to my country.

He replied by requesting me to defer my departure till the arrival of Huapo, who having heard such wonders of me, had determined to come in person to visit me; in consequence of which, he had been dispatched with a party of troops to defend me against my enemies. To this compliment I replied, that I was truly sensible of the good disposition of the prince; that I should be infinitely flattered by the honour of seeing him; and still more in rendering him every service in my power. That the precaution of sending his troops to defend me, was superfluous, as no force could have any effect upon me. To this declaration I

added the most flattering compliments to the Bamini, to whom I immediately made a present of a beautiful sabre, which, however, he politely refused, by observing, that he could not accept it without the knowledge of his master. After this conversation, he regaled me with tea and tobacco, at the same time that at intervals, he caused betel and the areca nut to be presented to me, with a small quantity of lime, all which together I chewed, and found most execrable.

The habits of this General consisted of a long red pautalon,* Chinese half boots, a white shirt, with a vest of black, and a red surplice, or outer garment, which had some buttons of coral, set in gold. His head was covered with a bonnet of straw, exceedingly pointed, and the upper extremity was ornamented with horse hair, dyed red. His arms consisted of a sabre, a lance, and a bow, with a quiver, containing twenty-five arrows. The troops who attended him were entirely naked, except a piece of blue cloth round their middle, and their arms were lances and bows.

According to the Report, seven wounded.

Wednesday, August the 31st. This day all our huts being finished, I landed all my people, and having raised two epaulements, I placed four pieces of cannon upon them, two on each flank of my camp. No more than eight men remained on board, as a guard.

Our repast was not of long duration. The Formosian General eat with astonishing rapidity, without speaking a word; and after he had devoured a quantity of rice, with some pieces of roast meat, he rose, and began to chew his betel, and smoke tobacco. As I was desirous of making my court to him, I followed his example, though my palate suffered for it. After dinner we walked round my camp. When we came near a battery, Bamini requested me to order some cannon shot to be

* The Pautalon is a close garment fitted to the body, and all of one piece from head to foot. T.

fired. I immediately gave orders to fix a butt at five hundred paces distance, and pointed the pieces myself. At the second fire, the boat which the islanders had exposed as a butt, was broken in pieces; at which the Formosian General testified the greatest surprize. To increase his astonishment, I gave orders to my companions to take their arms, and fire at a plank at eighty paces distance. Very few of their shot missed; and as the plank was shot through, this exercise gave him great satisfaction, and induced him to spare no flattering expressions on the occasion.

About five in the evening, Bamini received a courier, who announced the approaching arrival of the Huapo. The General therefore left me, and went to prepare a camp. I embraced this opportunity to give orders for some fire-works; and at the same time give the Prince the diversion of seeing our military exercise. The islanders, in the mean time, had become so familiar with us, as to leave their daughters freely in our camp; and it is remarkable, that there was no instance of any pilfering committed by them, though our people were exceedingly negligent. I employed the night in making several different fusees, and a large serpent for the fire-works.

At day-break, Don Hieronimo waited on me, to acquaint me with the arrival of the Prince, and advised me to send two of my officers to meet him, instead of going myself. As he offered to serve as their interpreter, I immediately sent Messrs. Crustiew and Kuzneczow, with six of our associates armed, to attend them. After their departure, I ascended an hill to see their camp prepared. I perceived that the arrangement was made after a certain order; the tent of the Prince being in the centre, and the others round about it. About eight o'clock, I saw the troops march in, and at last the Prince arrived.

Their order was as follows: First came six horsemen,

with a kind of standard. These were followed by a troop of infantry with pikes. After these came thirty or forty horsemen, and another body of infantry with bows. A troop armed with clubs and hatchets came next; and last of all came the Prince, attended by twelve or fifteen officers, mounted on small, but beautiful horses. The rest of the troops came after without any regular order. On their arrival at the camp, every one lodged where he could, and there was no guard set.

About eleven o'clock, Don Hieronimo returned to invite me, in the name of the Prince, to come and see him; and he brought several horses, though the distance was very short. I immediately mounted, and soon arrived at the Prince's tent. His appearance struck me at first sight. He was between thirty and thirty-five years of age, about five feet three inches high, of a strong and vigorous make, with a lively eye and majestic carriage. Upon being introduced to him, I found Mr. Crustiew already in great familiarity with him; who said to me in Russian, this youth would do our business, if we proposed to remain at Formosa; and his good disposition would permit him to assure me, that I might be King of the island whenever I pleased. He had scarcely spoken, when the Prince addressed me by our interpreter, assuring me, that I was welcome on the island; and that he had heard, with the greatest satisfaction, of the manner we had treated his enemies, for which he thought it proper to make his grateful acknowledgments. To this he added, that he had no doubt but that I was the person whose coming was announced by the Prophets, who had foretold that a stranger should arrive with strong men, who should deliver the Formosans from the Chinese yoke: in consequence of which he had determined to pay me a visit, and make me an offer of all his power and forces to support and obey me. This commence-

ment changed my system, and the Spaniard insensibly led me to play a new part, by assuring the Huapo that I was a great Prince, who had visited Formosa, with the intention of satisfying myself concerning the position of the Chinese, and to fulfil the wishes of the inhabitants of the island, by delivering them from the power of that treacherous people.

Upon this information, I thanked the Prince for his good intentions, and assured him that I should always make it a part of my glory to contribute to the happiness of a nation who were so fortunate as to be governed by a Prince of such wisdom and penetration as himself. But that upon the present occasion, having come only for the purpose of contracting alliances with the natives of the island, and more especially with the Huapo, I should explain myself more at large on another occasion; as these affairs and interests required to be treated of in secret. The Prince appeared to be satisfied with this reply, and invited me to dine with him. Messrs. Crustiew and Kuzneczow were likewise of the party, as well as the Spaniard, whom the Prince took into favour, and caused him to be immediately clothed after the fashion of the country; at the same time that he gave him a belt and a sabre, as marks of distinction.

After dinner, the Prince proposed to visit my camp, and while our horses were getting ready, Mr. Crustiew went before, to prepare the men to render due honour to the Prince, who was attended by near fifty officers on horseback, and his whole body of troops following him at the distance of about three hundred paces. When we came in sight of our camp, the cannonade began, and the astonished Sovereign was in great danger of sharing the fate of his officers, most of whom were thrown by the frisks and leaps of their horses, who were not accustomed to the noise, and could not be made to advance. We therefore dismounted, and

arrived at the camp, where the associates saluted the Prince with three discharges of musquetry, and the ceremony ended with twenty guns from the ship. This honourable and noisy reception gave him infinite pleasure, and as a mark of friendship, he put his hand in mine, and in this manner we proceeded to my tent, followed only by his General and three officers. He soon resumed his discourse, by giving a detail of the reasons, which made him desirous of driving the Chinese out of the island; and he left me no reason to doubt, that vanity induced him to declare war upon them. His inclination, in this respect, would certainly have been highly advantageous to me, if I had proposed to remain in the country; but as my determination was to return as speedily as possible into Europe, I thought it would be very unsafe to engage in enterprizes, which, even on the most happy event, would not make my return the less necessary. But, on the other hand, being well convinced, that by an alliance with this Prince, I should be enabled to propose the establishment of a colony on the island to some European power, I resolved to do every thing in my power to preserve his favourable disposition towards me.

About four in the evening, the Prince expressed a desire to see the vessel: I accordingly ordered thirty of my companions to go on board immediately; and afterwards sent Mr. Crustiew to attend him, with directions to amuse him as long as possible, that I might have time to prepare my fire-works. All was ready at half past seven, when I conducted the Prince to a place where he might see the whole fire, which began after the discharge of three great guns. He expressed his admiration at this exhibition, but informed me that the Chinese made the same. When the fireworks were ended, the Prince retired, after giving me his belt and sabre, as a token that he would share with me his power over his army, which amounted to

eight thousand men, of whom only two hundred and sixty were horsemen.

As soon as the Prince was gone, I assembled a committee, in which I declared Mr. Stephanow our equal, and capable of being admitted to our confidence; and I gave orders to Mr. Crustiew, to acknowledge him as such before the whole company. At the same time I gave directions for preparing the presents for the Prince Huapo, which consisted of two pieces of cannon I had brought as ballast; thirty good muskets, six barrels of gunpowder, two hundred iron balls, and fifty pounds of match. At day-break, I detached Messrs. Crustiew, Wynbladth, and Kuzneczow, to inform the Prince of the presents; to which I added thirty common Japanese sabres, one sabre very elegantly wrought for himself, and twenty others for his principal officers.

About eight o'clock, Don Hieronimo came to announce a visit on the part of the Prince, who came attended only by his confidential officers, as well to receive the presents, as to treat with me on objects of the greatest importance. About ten he arrived, and as I had the whole intermediate time to converse with, and make enquiries of the good Spaniard, I had my answers in readiness. In the first place, the Prince caused a very magnificent tent to be erected near mine, in which very rich carpets were laid; and here it was that he received me. He began the conversation, by thanking me for the presents which he had accepted on my part, and then proceeded to make the following demands:

1. Whether I could leave part of my people behind to remain with him till my return?

2. Whether I could bring back a number of troops armed with muskets, and skilled in the management of cannon; and what would be the expence of maintaining one thousand men?

3. Whether I could procure for him vessels armed with cannon, and captains to command them?

4. Whether I would accept the concession he would make me of the province of Havangsin; which, with its cities, towns, and inhabitants, he would cede to me in propriety, on condition that I should support him with Europeans, until he should have driven the Chinese out of his dominions, at which period he would yield up to me his whole kingdom?

5. And lastly, whether I would assist him in an expedition he was going to make against one of his neighbours, on condition that he should allow me a certain sum, with other advantages?

6. That after having received my answer, he should propose to me to enter into a permanent treaty of friendship with him?

These questions appeared to me, to be the work of Don Hieronimo; though he would never acknowledge that they sprung from his brain.—My answer was as follows:

1. That having a very long voyage to make, I could not leave any of my people behind me.

2. That it was in my power to bring armed troops and cannon along with me; but that the transport of one thousand men, would cost one thousand five hundred pounds of gold; and the maintainance of such a body of troops, would cost yearly, five hundred pounds of gold.

3. That I could procure armed vessels, such as he demanded; but that each vessel of twenty guns, would cost fifty pounds of gold.

4. That I should accept the commission of the province of Havangsin, such as he was desirous of bestowing it; on condition that I should support him against the Chinese, until they were driven out of his dominions; and that he should vest the property of his kingdom in me.

5. That though the season pressed my departure, yet, with a view to testify my attachment to the Prince

Huapo, I should be ready to assist him in his military operations, without demanding any recompence, except what he should voluntarily please to bestow upon my companions.

6. That I was ready to conclude a treaty of friendship with him, and hoped, that, provided he acted with as much sincerity as myself, I should soon see him sovereign of the whole island of Formosa, and in a situation to avenge himself and family on the Emperor of China, for the persecutions they had formerly suffered from that potentate.

The Prince having listened with the greatest attention to my replies, caused them to be written upon a paper, on which I perceived that his demands were likewise written. He then caused the question to be put to me, whether my resolution was invariable; and upon my answering in the affirmative, he proposed to make the ceremony of the oath; to which I consented with all my heart. During the time the preparations were making, I embraced the opportunity of presenting him with a sabre, and a pair of choice pistols. I did the same to his Generalissimo, and begged he would distribute the others to the most distinguished officers of the army.

Soon afterwards the Prince informed me that all was in readiness, and went out with me. We approached a small fire, upon which we threw several pieces of wood. A censer was then given to me, and another to him. These were filled with lighted wood, upon which we threw incense; and turning towards the East, we made several fumigations. After the ceremony, the General read the questions, and my answers; and whenever he paused, we turned towards the East, and repeated the fumigation. At the end of the reading, the Prince pronounced imprecations and maledictions upon him who should break the treaty of friendship between us; and Don Hieronimo directed me to do the

same, and afterwards interpreted my words. After this we threw our fire upon the ground, and thrust our sabres in the ground up to the hilts. The assistants immediately brought a quantity of large stones, with which they covered our arms, and the Prince then embraced me, and declared that he acknowledged me as his brother.

On our return to his tent, he caused a complete habit, made according to the fashion of the country, to be brought, with which I was cloathed; and in this manner we set out for the camp of the Prince, where we were received with every demonstration of joy. On our arrival at his tent, dinner was served up in a more plentiful manner than usual; and as the Prince had requested the company of my officers, I caused them all to attend, except Mr. Baturin, who commanded in my absence. During the whole time of our meal, our ears were stunned with a very noisy kind of music, and the continued beating of drums. At our rising from table, I was not a little surprized to see the two pieces of cannon planted at the entrance of the camp. But Mr. Wynbladth informed me, that my associates had paid the Prince the compliment of placing them there; at which he was exceedingly well satisfied. At four o'clock, all the principal officers being assembled, with the Bamini at their head, the Prince spoke to them for a long time; and after having ended his discourse, he dismissed them. Half an hour afterwards, the Prince and myself accompanied by the Spaniard, mounted our horses, and passed through the camp; where I was saluted by all the officers. The manner of salutation consisted in each officer touching with his left hand, the stirrup of him whom he saluted. When we had made several turns in the camp, we returned to the Prince's tent, who urged me to come to a determination to accompany him in his enterprize; and, as I had resolved to assist him, I thought it proper to make some

enquiries into the subject. The information I received was as follows: The Prince Hapuasingo, Sovereign of a neighbouring territory, who was allied and tributary to the Chinese, had demanded, in consequence of a private quarrel of individuals, that Huapo should put several of his own subjects to death? and as Huapo did not chuse to comply with his wishes, he made war upon him, in which Huapo was not successful, but was constrained at last to pay a considerable fine to Hapuasingo; and though he had fulfilled the treaty, yet the Chinese Governor demanded a further reimbursement, on pretence of the expences he had been at in bringing his troops into the field; and upon this plea the Chinese, with the assistance of Hapuasingo, had usurped one of his finest and most fertile provinces. That, considering the present as a favourable moment to avenge himself on his neighbour, and the Chinese, he hoped, by my assistance, to bring his wishes to a happy termination. He informed me, moreover, that the army of Hapuasingo did not consist of above five or six thousand men; and that the number of Chinese who could come to his assistance, were about one thousand, of which no more than fifty were armed with muskets. That the distance of Hapuasingo's capital was not more than a day and a half's march from the place we were then at; and that the roads were very good.

Upon this information, I promised my ally to maintain his quarrel, and required no more than one day to get ready, and sixty horses for my companions and their equipage. My promise transported the Prince with the greatest joy, and induced him to declare Don Hieronimo his General of cavalry. I thanked him for this mark of confidence; but as I had need of him near me to serve as an interpreter, I begged the Prince to cause him to be declared in the mean time a principal officer, bearing the Prince's orders and mine, which were necessary to be implicitly obeyed.

The Prince promised that every thing should be done according to my desire; and then I quitted him, to return to my camp with the Spaniard. Immediately on my return, I assembled my intimate friends, to whom I explained my interests and intention, which was supported by the assurance of our being able to establish a colony hereafter on this island, under the guarantee and friendship of the Prince Huapo. But as it was of the utmost importance that the company should consent, I directed my friends to excite them to make a request to me to carry his project into execution. At daybreak, the effect of this stratagem exceeded my expectation. When I came out of my tent, or rather barrack, I saw two deputies, who, in the name of the company, requested me to permit a certain number of them to assist the good Prince Huapo in his war against the Chinese. On this message I assembled the company, to whom I represented, that I thought it improper to comply with their demand, because it was an absurdity for us to interfere on such slight grounds in this quarrel, so much as to send some of our number to assist in the enterprize. That an undertaking of this kind might effectually destroy all our hopes respecting the island, as it would be sufficient for this purpose, that the Prince Huapo might be beaten. My speech altered the countenance of my companions; but I soon revived their spirits, by declaring, that I was no less sensible than themselves, of the importance of the services we might render to Huapo; but as I was convincéd that our whole reputation in the place depended on this measure, I begged them to chuse forty resolute men of their number, with whom I would myself go upon this expedition. On this declaration they demanded to cast lots, and assured me, that they unanimously approved of my determination. I therefore left the care of regulating the lots to Mr. Crustiew, and nominated the officers myself, as follow:

| *The Left.* | *The Center.* | *The Right.* |
|---|---|---|
| Mr. Kuzneczow, | Myself, | Mr. Wynbladth, |
| Mr. Bocsarew, | Mr. Stephanow, | Mr. Baturin, |
| 13 Associates. | Mr. Sibaew, | 13 Associates. |
| — | 16 Associates. | — |
| 15 | — | 15 |
| | 18 | |

After having declared and fixed this order, I caused ammunition to be distributed, and ordered four patereros, which belonged to the shallop, to be got ready, with sixty rounds of ball, and twenty of rubbish for each; and with a view that these pieces might be more effectually serviceable, I caused piquets to be shod with iron to drive into the ground, and provided each with a socket at top to fix the piece. This commission was very ingeniously performed by Mr. Baturin. About ten we received sixty horses; but as eight more were wanting to transport our patereros and ammunition, I dispatched Don Hieronimo, who brought them. This day we dined all together; and after having placed the command, in my absence, in the hands of Mr. Crustiew, and Messrs. Gurcsinin, Meder, and Czurin under him, I took my leave of them.

Thursday, September the 1st, 1771.* On the island of Formosa, marching to assist the Prince Huapo in his war. At four, P. M. I entered the camp of the Prince, who immediately struck his tents, and prepared to

* Here is an inadvertence of the Count, with regard to time. Under the date of August the 31st, are included the adventures of three whole days, as appears by the succession of the hours. It seems probable, that during his stay on shore, he kept minutes of the principal events, and afterwards divided them into day's transactions by memory; and that the present date should be September the 3d; a supposition, which, by including the three following days in one, agrees very well with the Prince's assertion, (page 48) that Hapuasingo's capital was distant only a journey of one day and a half.

follow me, after having appointed one hundred and twenty horsemen, and four hundred infantry to clear the way. We did not halt till eleven o'clock, near a brook called Halavith. At four in the morning we renewed our march; and at seven Don Hieronimo, as we were descending a mountain, made me take notice of a small town belonging to Huapo; but as we left it near a league distant on the right, I could not judge of its extent with any precision. Its environs, however, seemed to be well cultivated. At nine we halted to refresh our horses, whom they fed with rice; and, after having pitched our camp on the border of a wood, we remained there till four in the afternoon, to avoid marching in the noon-day heat, which was extreme.

Friday, September the 2d. At four in the afternoon, we resumed our march, and continued our progress till ten at night; at which time we stopped in a valley, where we received twenty oxen loaded with rice, a quantity of fruit, and several casks of a kind of brandy. At three in the morning we set out again, and continued till nine, when we came to a village with a pond of water near it, in which we caught some excellent fish. As I found this village abandoned by its inhabitants, I imagined it belonged to the enemy; and the information I received from the Spaniard, confirmed this opinion. From this, I had no doubt, but that Hapuasingo was apprized of our invasion; and for that reason I should have been glad to have conversed with the Prince. And as he only followed me at the distance of a march, I thought it proper to wait for him.

Saturday, September the 3d. Encamped near a deserted village. The Prince Huapo did not appear till near five o'clock. I took the liberty to remonstrate with him for his slowness; which he excused, by representing, that his troops being loaded with provisions, could not march so quickly. At three in the morning we resumed our march; and at half past four, being in the van with

Don Hieronimo, we observed thirty or forty horsemen before us. I immediately advanced with six associates, and the Spaniard. They paid no attention to us till they supposed us to be in their reach; and then, turning about, they came on full gallop, with their lances in their hands. Their courage was, however, not a little disconcerted, by the first report of our fire arms, which dismounted two of them, whom we made prisoners. From them we learned, by the examination of Don Hieronimo, that we should soon see the main army advancing towards us; and that we were then at no greater distance from the capital than a six hours march.

The rest of my troops having joined me, we continued our march without seeing any thing remarkable, except some villages on our right and left, and a prodigious quantity of cattle. As we were now very near the enemy, I pitched my camp to advantage, and fixed my patereros for its defence. About noon we perceived a troop of about an hundred horse, who approached to examine us at leisure; which I permitted, with the intention of familiarizing them with us.

Sunday, September the 4th. At two o'clock we observed another body of upwards of fifty horsemen on our right; and at last, a great number of troops, amounting at least to ten or twelve thousand men, but very few cavalry. As I made no movement, these troops began to prepare for the attack; and at the same time I put my men in readiness to keep up a continued fire. I was desirous of working the patereros myself; and for that reason had them brought near the center. About half past three, a party of about twenty horse approached to insult an out-post which I had set. As soon as they came within reach, I fired a few shot at them, which had no other effect than that of intimidating them. They soon, however, recovered from their apprehensions, and disposed their whole troop to attack

me; but their reception was so warm, that near two hundred were slain. This loss, instead of checking their impetuosity, appeared to increase their fury. They came on a second time; and, after very considerable loss, were forced at last to retreat. I pursued them for two hours, when the approach of night obliged me to halt.

The Prince did not come up with us till eleven, and a council was held, wherein it was determined to attack the enemy in our turn. At two I disposed our troops in order, and placed a division of my comrades on each wing, and myself, with my own division occupied the center. At three we marched towards the enemy; and when we had arrived very near them, we waited only for the break of day to commence the attack. At three quarters after four the attack began; but the noise of our patereros and muskets was sufficient to put them to flight. This loss was so much the more considerable, as they had no thought of providing for a retreat. The greatest number retired into the town. The spirit of the troops of Huapo likewise carried them before us, in which situation the enemy, no longer intimidated by our fire arms, turned upon them, and began a dreadful slaughter, which however ceased at our approach, as soon as we could make use of our arms.

While the battle began in the city, Don Hieronimo proposed to send fifty horse to the other side of the town, to prevent Hapuasingo from escaping. I immediately gave orders for twenty of my associates, under Messrs. Stephanow and Baturin, to perform this office; and they were so fortunate as to make Hapuasingo prisoner, with four of his women, with whom he was endeavouring to make his escape. This capture decided the whole quarrel; for he promised to Don Hieronimo to comply with all the demands of Huapo, on condition the lives of himself and family should be spared. When he came before me, I declared that he was my prisoner; and that so far from being desirous of putting him to

death, I should wish to cultivate his friendship, on condition of his giving every satisfaction to Huapo, who was justly irritated. About eleven, all the noise of war having subsided, I caused enquiry to be made after Huapo, in order to put Hapuasingo into his hands: but as this Prince was desirous of being a spectator, instead of an actor, he did not return till about noon: at which time I delivered Hapuasingo to him, on condition that he should not suffer any personal injury; and then I thought proper to encamp on the other side of the town.

Monday, September the 5th. In camp, near the Town of Xiaguamay, on the island of Formosa. At three, I received a visit from Huapo, accompanied with Bamini, who overwhelmed me with protestations of friendship; and, as I understood that all the operations of war were ended, I declared to the Prince my resolution to return, and set sail, as early as possible; this information was very unpleasant to him; but as he was convinced that he should not succeed in attempting to dissuade me from my purpose, he contented himself with entreating me to return as soon as possible, which I solemnly promised to do. This day we regulated the order of my departure; and the manner in which the province was to supply me with provisions, pursuant to the order of the Prince. In the evening, Don Hieronimo requested me to leave one of my companions behind to assist him in his functions. On his pressing entreaty, I persuaded young Loginow, whose brother had been slain, to fix his residence here till my return, in order to learn the language of the country, and assist our future operations.

The next morning I received the Prince's presents, consisting of some fine pearls, eight quintals of silver, and twelve pounds of gold. He apologized for the smallness of the present, on account of his distance from home, and because my precipitate departure

prevented his making it more considerable. But with regard to myself, he sent me a box, containing one hundred pieces of gold, weighing in the whole thirteen pounds and a quarter; and gave orders to Bamini to accompany us with one hundred and twenty horsemen, to provide for our subsistence. Don Hieronimo likewise attended me as interpreter; and I gave orders for our departure at four in the afternoon.

Tuesday, September the 6th. After renewing our oaths and engagements with the Prince Huapo, we took our leave at three; and I had the satisfaction to see, that he did not part with us without tears. At four we began our march; and at the moment that my troop filed off, I made the Prince a present of my patereros, with the greatest part of the ammunition we had brought; at the same time, that I requested the favour that he would appoint our companion Loginow, who staid behind, his General of artillery. This he promised in his presence. Our march was very easy and pleasant; for we were mounted on good horses, and went by the most direct road; and we were plentifully supplied with provision of all kinds, at the places where we halted.

Wednesday, September the 7th. We continued our march through a pleasant and well cultivated country, watered with fine rivers, and very populous, as we could judge by the small distance from one village to another. Whenever we rested, we were surrounded by a multitude of people, who brought presents. Their good will was, however chargeable to us by the returns we made. This day I made an offer to Bamini, of part of the gold and silver I had received of the Prince; but he positively refused to accept it, saying, that he was contented in possessing my friendship, which he begged I would preserve till my return.

Thursday, September the 8th. At three, P. M. we at length arrived at our camp very much fatigued, and

exhausted with the excessive heat we had suffered, as there had been no rain during the whole of our excursion. General Bamini, after having given the necessary orders to the chief inhabitants of the country respecting our subsistence, took leave of me. He embraced all my associates one after the other; and at the instant of his departure, he put into my hands a collar of pearls on the part of the Prince, and a rich tent, with a carpet of superior workmanship.

After the departure of Bamini, I received the congratulations of my companions, and saw with the greatest satisfaction, that Mr. Crustiew had disposed of every thing in the best manner. In the evening, being desirous of giving my companions a mark of liberality, I distributed among them the whole of the silver and gold by weight; and I put the pearls and the box of gold, which had been privately given me, into the hands of my intimate friends, the officers and women. When the associates were informed, that I had kept nothing for myself, they proposed each to give me a half share of their possessions; but I refused and begged them to preserve the whole, and to reserve their generous disposition for some future occasion, if I should find it necessary to apply to them for assistance; in which case I should not scruple to have recourse to them for a loan.

This conduct on my part seemed to elevate their minds, and gave me a perfect empire over them. And at this moment I was convinced, that though a man of genius may avail himself of his superiority over common minds, yet, an act of generosity at a proper time, is worth a thousand speeches, however eloquent.

After the company had separated, none remained but my intimate friends, who endeavoured to persuade me to fix my residence at Formosa, in the province which the Prince Huapo had ceded to me. They represented, that the associates being this day witnesses

of the mildness of my command, and guided by the most profound respect towards me, would be sufficient to form a colony; and that we might besides send, by the way of China, at some future time, certain emissaries into Europe, to engage some sovereign power in our interests; or, at all events, to raise recruits. Their opinions were so well supported, that at last I could make no other objection, than my own peculiar interests; namely, that I had a wife who loved and was attached to me by the bond of marriage, and who probably at that instant had a child, as she was pregnant at the time of my departure. But, in order to conceal my own private sentiments, though I communicated as much to them as I thought necessary, I did not fail to represent, that a person on the spot could do more than a thousand written messages; and that, therefore, upon my return to Europe, I might reasonably expect to obtain the favour of some court, as we could assure them the greatest advantages; such as that of forming an establishment in the Aleuthes islands, to carry on the rich commerce of furs; to open the trade of Japan; to form an establishment on the islands Lequeio; and lastly, to establish an European colony on the island of Formosa. I expressed my firm assurance, that these propositions would insure our happy success; and that in case the European courts should abandon us, we should always have it in our power to carry our project into execution, by the fitting out of private vessels. This reasoning at last determined them, and they requested permission to explain it to the whole company; for they assured me that every individual was resolved to demand my consent, not to quit the island of Formosa.

After having gained this essential point, I retired to rest, which was very necessary to me; and did not awake till ten the next morning. When I arose, I received the deputies of the company, who, having been

informed by Mr. Crustiew of my intention, had paid respect to it, though they had already made a different determination themselves; for which reason they confined their request to that of desiring that I would not quit the island until the 12th of the month, in order that they might have time to recover themselves from the fatigues and difficulties they had undergone. I granted their request with so much the more readiness, as in reality the fatigue of our march had been excessive, and the good conduct of my companions was such as led me to comply with every request they might make. I therefore promised to remain on the island until the 12th; and my consent was followed by expressions of the most lively gratitude on their part. This day the whole company dined together.

Friday, September the 9th. After dinner, I gave orders for putting an end to all work, that all the associates might follow their recreations, except a guard of six on board, and four on shore. The officers likewise seized this opportunity to make some excursions into the country; and, for my part, I employed myself in drawing up some notes respecting the project of forming a colony on the island. These were as follow:

Some notions and details respecting the island of Formosa; and the plan of forming an European colony there.

The island of Formosa is called by the Chinese, Touaiouai; and by the natives Paccahimba. It is one of the finest and richest islands of the known world. The soil, in an infinity of places, produces two harvests of rice and other grain, with a great variety of trees, fruits, plants, animals, and birds. Cattle, sheep, goats, and poultry, are very abundant here. This island is intersected by great rivers, lakes, and waters, abounding with fish. It has many commodious harbours, bays, and sounds on its coasts. Its mountains produce gold, silver, cinnabar, white and brown copper; and likewise pit coal.

The island of Formosa is divided into eight principalities, three of which, situated on the Western side, are governed by the Chinese, and peopled by the same nation. Every year an Ambassador arrives from China, to receive tribute from these three provinces, which is raised by a poll tax; and the Emperor of China keeps five hundred vessels for the purpose of annually exporting this tribute, which consists of a large quantity of rice, wheat, millet, salt, beans, raw silk, cotton, gold, silver and mercury. The Governors of these three provinces continually extend their possessions, either by alliance or intrigue, in such a manner, that they have obtained several towns and districts from their neighbours.

The inhabitants of the island are civilised, except those who live on the Eastern coasts. They are of an effeminate disposition, without any marks of courage; given to indolence, and are indebted to the goodness of the climate for their preservation, as the soil supports them with very little labour. If we except the three Chinese provinces, the mines on the island are no where worked. They are contented to wash the sand to extract gold out of it; and if they find pearls in the shells, it is by mere accident. The common people of Formosa are cloathed only in blue cotton cloth; the towns are always built in the plains; and the villages are upon the mountains. The houses of people of condition among them are extensive and beautiful, but plain. Those of the people are mere huts; and they are not permitted to build better. Most of them are covered with straw and reeds, and are divided or separated from each other by rows of pallisadeos; their moveables are nothing more than what necessity has rendered indispensable. In the houses of men of rank, there are advanced rooms, in which they eat, receive strangers, and divert themselves. The apartments of the women are always separate, and apart from

the house. Though they are built within the court, no one is permitted to approach them. In this country there are no inns for travellers; but those who are on a journey seat themselves down near the first house they come to, and the master of the house soon after receives them, and entertains them with rice and some flesh meat, with tobacco and tea.

The only commerce of the inhabitants of Formosa is with some Japanese barks, who touch here, and with the Chinese.

In each province there are five or six towns, which have establishments for instructing youth in reading and writing. Their characters of writing, and for the expression of numbers, are as difficult as those of the Chinese. Their pronunciation is sometimes quick and elevated, and at other times slow and grave. They obtain their books from China. There are reputed sorcerers or diviners here, who have a great influence over the people. Their religion consists in adoring one God, and in the performance of good offices to their neighbours. The provinces which are not conquered, are governed by Princes or Kings, who have an absolute power over their subjects. None of these last, without any exception of the great men, has any property in the lands. They receive the advantages of their lands, subject to the good pleasure of the Prince, as well as the gains they derive from the multitude of their slaves. Some of the principal people have as many as one, or even two thousand. The princes always compose their councils of their principal military officers, and always keep their troops on foot, divided into four, five, and six divisions, which remain constantly on the frontiers; the body guard of the Sovereigns consists of no more than five or six hundred men, born of the principal families among their subjects. The ancient soldiers are employed in the command of towns or villages, for there is no village in Formosa which is not commanded

by a soldier, and each commander is obliged to present annually to his superior, a list of the people under his jurisdiction. Formosa being surrounded by the sea, these princes constantly maintain a certain number of vessels, each of which has two masts and twenty-four oars; they do not use cannon, but make great use of artificial fire works.

A plan for forming a colony on the island Formosa.

Previous to entering into the project of establishing a colony, it will be necessary to mention a few maxims.

1. Before any attempt is made to found a colony, it must be previously considered, whether its establishment be intended to be made upon a military or mercantile footing; and whether it be properest to cultivate the commerce of exchange, of œconomy, or of industry?

2. In the formation of a colony, it is necessary to conciliate the benevolence, the confidence, and the attachment of the natives of the country. When a superiority is acquired over their minds, their own proper impulses will render the colonists masters of the country; and in this case it will be easy to establish the constitution intended to be adopted, or to set on foot that kind of commerce which is proposed. The constitution may likewise be maintained with very little force, and the country defended against the attempts of foreigners.

3. It is necessary that the basis of the colony be military, animated by glory; for in that case it may conquer, but will never be conquered.

4. The salubrity of the place of establishment must be ascertained, and no labour neglected that may tend to procure this advantage so necessary to humanity.

5. It is required to make sure of the possession of good harbours, fertile grounds, and the course of the principal rivers, to comprehend all the branches of commerce; to carry cultivation to its utmost extent;

and to facilitate by these two branches the different departments of industry.

6. In an infant colony it is proper to avoid fortifications of the first order, and to establish the chief place in the inner part of the country; where, consequently, it will be out of the reach of any sudden stroke. In this manner, when a colony is master of the country, the first attack of an enemy, and the capture of a post, established near the sea coast, will not decide the possession.

7. The multiplicity of councils, and the number of people employed, must be reduced to the smallest number, which can be dispensed with in the management of the affairs of the colony.

8. Luxury must be banished; but it will be proper to establish external marks of grandeur, according to the different ranks of citizens who form the colony; as by this means emulation will be encouraged.

9. Industry must be encouraged and recompensed by gradual transition from one class of citizens to another, and by procuring to the colonists the sale of their commodities. The money which is thus dispersed among the colonists in the purchase of productions, always returns to government in the course of exchanges.

10. Restraint of conscience must be banished and prohibited for ever. Happy is he who shall establish toleration, and the belief of one only God.

11. A code of laws ought to be established in favour of slavery; in which, means should be appointed to enable this unfortunate order of men to arrive, by the force of labour and industry, to the rank of free citizens.

12. Population being the only true foundation of national force, it will be necessary that government should encourage it by rewards, and preserve it by law. It will succeed by punishing libertinism severely, and

by granting privileges and gratifications to fathers and mothers, who shall have presented a number of children, the issue of their marriages.

It is therefore on these principles that I should wish to establish a colony on the island of Formosa, supposing that an European power should accept my offers.

1. I should demand, that this power should confine itself to the Suzerainity; and, on this principle, it should possess no other advantages but such as are derived from subsidies, and the commerce of its European subjects.

2. Conformably to this plan, I should require three armed vessels; one of four hundred and fifty tons, another of two hundred and fifty tons, and another of one hundred and fifty tons, with provisions for eighteen months.

3. And likewise permission to raise a body of workmen, of different kinds, to the number of twelve hundred men, with the necessary officers whom I should chuse.

4. That I should be furnished with a necessary quantity of arms, ammunition, and the value of one million two hundred thousand livres, in articles of trade, which I should point out.

5. That for the space of three years, permission should be granted me to raise recruits to the number of four hundred men yearly, and the transport of two hundred foundling children of both sexes annually.

6. That permission should be granted to all the subjects of the sovereign power to trade with the new colony.

7. That permission should be granted me to establish warehouses and factories in its colonies.

These articles being granted, I would stipulate,

1. That the new colony should furnish a certain sum of money annually, to the power who had protected it, as a grateful acknowledgment.

2. That the colony should assist its protector in every war, by furnishing a stipulated number of soldiers and seamen.

3. That no merchandize, or objects of European luxury, should be admitted into the new colony, except the product or manufacture of the dominions of its protector.

4. That the whole sum advanced in fitting out armed vessels, with the ammunition and objects of commerce, on account of the new colony, should be entered into a regular charge; that the interest should be paid during the first three years, and the capital reimbursed during the fourth.

These stipulations being thus fixed, I would repair to port Maurice, where, conformably to the treaty entered into with the Prince Huapo, I would disembark; and, after having established a military post, I would repair to the capital of the province which has been ceded to me.

Saturday, September the 10th. The associates came to work of themselves, and began to load the vessel. This day Don Hieronimo entered into an oath with me before the whole company; in which he engaged to support the favourable disposition of the Prince towards me. I made him a present of several Latin books, and some arms.

Sunday, September the 11th. I gave orders for our embarkment, and the natives of the country assisted us with the utmost readiness, with every thing in their power. This day Mr. Stephanow asked leave to go on shore, which I durst not consent to, as I had reason to fear the wickedness of his character, which certainly might have destroyed all our credit and interest on this island. But as I was not desirous that the refusal should come from me, I promised to explain his wish to the company; and promised, that the moment they gave their consent, I would make no objection. I gave

orders for the immediate calling together of the company on board, in the morning, to decide on this affair; but Stephanow was scarcely gone, before I assembled a committee, to whom I communicated his intention. Every individual, urged by the same motives as myself, opposed his purpose; and several among them undertook to induce the whole company to refuse him. I employed this night in writing out instructions for Don Hieronimo, and at day-break I went on board, accompanied by him. After I had taken a formal leave of the islanders, at ten I put a letter for the Prince Huapo, into the hands of Don Hieronimo, with instructions for Mr. Loginow, who at last took leave of us, and returned on shore. Immediately after his departure, the company assembled, and deliberated upon the proposition of Mr. Stephanow. Their determination was, that it was impossible to suffer any other person to go on shore; and more especially Mr. Stephanow, who had given so many proofs of his evil intentions. This unhappy man, urged by despair and rage, attempted to throw himself overboard; and by his outrageous deportment, obliged me, at length, to order him into confinement. In the mean time, we weighed anchor, and set sail under the two top-sails, with the boats a-head, as well as five or six of the country boats, who were ready to come to our assistance, as the road was difficult.

According to the Report, all the company in good health, the vessel making no water.

Monday, September the 12th. A light breeze at E. S. E. with fair clear weather. When we had got to the mouth of the harbour, it fell calm; which obliged me to tow the vessel out by the boats, where I anchored in sixteen fathom water. At sun-set the wind sprung up at S. E. and I set sail, and stood to the Northward, in order to double the Northernmost extremity of the island of Formosa. In the night the

wind slackened, and we saw many fires on shore. At eight, A. M. we discovered two islands a-head, with a channel between them of sufficient extent, to induce me to sail through it. At eleven, saw a large vessel at the distance of three leagues to the Northward, and prepared to chase her; but finding she outsailed us, I gave up the attempt.

According to the Report, all in good health. The ship making no water.

Latitude in 24° 15′ N. Longitude in 324° 08′. Wind S. E. Current from S. to N. Course N. N. E.

Tuesday, September the 13th. Fine weather, inclining to squally. This day Mr. Stephanow was released from confinement; and I declared to the company, my resolution to direct our course to Macao. In the night the weather was moderate, and we continued our course very agreeably.

According to the Report, all in good health.

Latitude in 25° 15′ N. Longitude in 323° 56′. Wind S. E. ¼ E. Current from S. to N. Course N. ¼ E.

Wednesday, September the 14th. Squally weather. Saw a quantity of water-snakes. In the night, continual rain, with thunder and lightning. Sounded several times, but got no ground.

According to the Report, all well.

Latitude in 24° 41′ N. Longitude 322° 00′. Wind S. E. Current from N. to S. Course S. W. ¼ W.

Thursday, September the 15th. Close cloudy weather throughout, with heavy rain. At three, A. M. sounded, and got ground at thirty fathoms, fine sand, and broken shells; and we observed a very strong current from N. to S. At day-break, saw a quantity of fishing boats around us. At nine, the coast of China was in sight, and I determined to go into some harbour. At ten, several fishing vessels being near us, offered to sell us some fish; and upon expressing our willingness, several

canoes immediately came along side, from whom we bought all their fish for twelve piastres. Two Chinese among these fishermen, spoke a little Portugueze; and were at last persuaded to pilot us into Macao. They demanded for this service one hundred piastres; but in the mean time, requested leave to go on shore for their cloaths; to which I consented, on condition, that one only should go on shore, while the other remained on board. This agreement being made, they conducted us to an anchoring place, where we came to in eighteen fathom, fine sand and mud.

Friday, September the 16th. The pilot having returned on board, made me to understand his direction to weigh, and make sail along the coast, in order to put in at Tanasoa; and by way of explaining the reason, he said Mandarin hopchin malas, Mandarin tanajou bon bon malto bon; all which I made shift to comprehend wonderfully well. I therefore made sail without delay, and stood along-shore. At day-break, the pilot shewed me the bay of Tanasoa, into which we entered, and anchored in five fathom water, opposite a castle, which I saluted with three guns, and received the same number in return. The pilot immediately went on shore, and did not return till ten o'clock, when he appeared, together with a Mandarin, and an interpreter. He demanded who I was; to what nation the ship belonged; where I came from, and whither I was bound? To this I replied, that I was an European, and one of the nobles of Hungary; that the vessel had belonged to the Russians, but having taken it from them, who were my enemies, it now belonged to myself; that I came from Kamchatka; was on my return to Europe, and proposed to put in at Macao. The Mandarin wrote my answers with a hair pencil, and said, he was surprized to see Hungarians arrive at China. He afterwards asked, what I was in want of; and being told that I wanted fresh provisions, he consented that a

party of my companions should go on shore with the interpreters. I therefore availed myself of this permission, to send Messrs. Wynbladth and Kuzneczow on shore, accompanied with six of our companions, to carry my presents to the Governor. They consisted in a beaver's skin, and two sables.

Saturday, September the 17th. At anchor at Tanasoa, before the town. At five, P. M. my officers returned, and brought word, that the Mandarin had accepted my presents with pleasure; and had sent me in return, a service of porcelain, with two chests of tea, six cows, and twelve hogs, with a quantity of poultry, and a kind of arrack. The associates brought an hundred different kinds of sweetmeats, and some toys, very nicely wrought. The interpreter acquainted me, that the Mandarin was desirous of purchasing some furs, but secretly; I therefore sent one hundred and fifty beavers, and three hundred sables; in return for which he sent six thousand eight hundred piastres, in three casks. Here I had additional cause to regret the loss of my furs. My companions likewise opened a trade with the inhabitants, and sold every scrap of bear's skin they could collect. In the night several Chinese vessels anchored near us, and my companions went on board them. They assured me, that every boat had several cabins, which were filled with girls, who sold their favours. A. M. Set up the rigging, and cleaned the ship thoroughly. My companions were incommoded by the quantity of fruit they eat on shore, and six of them were taken with illness.

Sunday, September the 18th. My pilot took notice that the wind was favourable, and that we ought to take advantage of it. I therefore set sail, and after standing off shore, I directed my course to the Southward, which was contrary to the wish of my pilot, who was absolutely averse to losing sight of the shore; the quantity of fishing boats we saw were innumerable;

towards the evening they all made for the shore; and as I was importuned by my pilot, I consented to do the same. At day-break we saw many water-snakes around us, some of which I caused to be taken, and the pilot eat them. At nine it fell calm, and at noon our latitude was by observation, 22° 32′. Eighteen of our people were this day sick, which I attributed to the spirituous liquor they had drank.

Monday, September the 19th. The pilots enquired whether my vessel drew more than six feet of water; and when I informed them that she drew upwards of eight, they begged me to come to anchor; because at the fourth hour of the tide the depth of water at this place was eight or ten feet; the under current here was contrary to that at the surface; I therefore anchored, in compliance with their wishes, and I determined to note this observation in my journal, in order that more skilful navigators might, at some future time, ascertain the fact. At six P. M. weighed with a light breeze at East, and the tide in our favour. This night one of the women who was attached to Mr. Csurin, was brought to-bed. The Chinese boats which surrounded us the whole night, made a considerable noise with their oars. At day-break we saw a fleet, at the head of which was a vessel of prodigious magnitude, almost entirely gilt, and hung round with numberless streamers. My pilots informed me that it was the Canton fleet, which carried the revenues to Pekin. We counted one hundred and eighty-six vessels.

This day our sick amounted to no more than eight.

Tuesday, September the 20th. This day I was attacked by a violent fever, for which the pilots advised me to eat an orange, roasted in its juice, with sugar, and a good deal of ginger; they prepared this remedy for me, and it produced a strong perspiration, which dissipated my complaint. Messrs. Wynbladth, Baturin, Gurcsinin, and Kuzneczow, with twelve others, were

affected in the same manner. At eight, P. M. Mr. Sibaew acquainted me, that Mr. Stephanow taking advantage of my indisposition, had formed a party; but as he could not yet say what their intentions were, he promised to watch their motions. Sibaew had scarcely finished his discourse, before I heard a noise on board. I went out of my cabin, where I found Mr. Crustiew engaged in a quarrel with Stephanow. I gave orders to seize the latter; and after receiving the information, that this wretch had proposed to the company, to sign an act of complaint against me, to be delivered to the Governor of Macao on our arrival, I ordered him to be put in irons. This day we had twenty-two sick.

Wednesday, September the 21st. About six, P. M. anchored among the islands, called Ladrones, where we remained all night. At five, A. M. weighed, and at ten the pilots shewed me an island, which they called Omy; and at last made me understand, that Omy is the Chinese name for Macao. At half past eleven we saw the fort, and the Portuguese colours displayed. At noon, being opposite the fort, I saluted it with twelve guns.

Thursday, September the 22d. At half past one, P. M. we were fairly entering the harbour, where we saw several vessels at anchor. At two, in passing the pass,* I was hailed to come to anchor; but as I did not think it necessary to lose time in superfluous ceremonies, I entered the harbour, and anchored at last, near a frigate of forty guns, in four fathoms water. As soon as I had brought to, I saluted the Admiral's colours with twenty-four guns, and he answered with twelve.

I went on shore immediately after, and passing near the Commodore, I paid him a visit. On my arrival at the Governor's, I was introduced into the hall, which I found full of priests and monks; among whom I per-

* *Passant la passe*—I do not understand this. T.

ceived several negroes of the Canary islands. After some time, the Governor, M. de Saldagna, arrived, and received me with the greatest politeness. When I had acquainted him with my misfortunes and my deliverance, he gave me permission to hire houses in the town, to accommodate my people, till I could find a favourable opportunity of conveying them to Europe. Several persons of the magistracy, who were present, expressed some suspicions of me; for which reason, to prevent debates, I thought proper to put my vessel as a deposit, in the hands of the Governor; reserving only for each of my companions, the necessary arms, such as guns, pistols, and swords, which I likewise deposited in the castle. After this convention, the Governor charged M. Hiss, a gentleman of French extraction, but settled at Macao for some years, to assist me in my affairs, and serve as interpreter. At six, P. M. the guard having come on board, I caused all my people to go on shore. For the first day, my companions lodged in a public house, and the excess and avidity with which they devoured the bread and fresh provisions, which they were now supplied with, cost thirteen of them their lives. These died suddenly, and twenty-four others were seized with dangerous illness.

September the 23d. M. Hiss having found two convenient houses, I hired them, and went to reside in them with my companions. This day I dined with the Governor, in company with a number of priests, who from that moment aspired to the glory of converting my associates to the Roman religion. On my return home, I found all my people commodiously lodged, and an apartment compleatly fitted up for myself; the Governor having supplied the furniture out of his own house. I employed this day in making visits to the Bishop of Mitelopolis, the Procureur of the town, the different convents, and principal inhabitants. I likewise gave orders to clothe my companions

uniformly, in red and white, as well as the officers; and the Portuguese ladies undertook to provide the apparel for our female fellow travellers. When the accounts were made up, these charges were estimated at eight thousand piastres, and the monthly expence for lodging and provisions, amounted to six thousand two hundred piastres.

On the 24th, I received visits from the Governor, and the principal men of the town, as well as from the Bishop, accompanied with the different religious orders: these all together, accompanied me to the Hoppo, or Chinese Governor, who regaled us with tea and sweet-meats: this day three more of my associates died, and their conversion was published throughout the town. In the evening, a Dominican priest, and friend of the Governor, named Zunitta, came to me, and offered every assistance in his power; and as I thought I might dispose of my furs by his assistance, I proposed the business to him, and he consented to take them. I therefore put into his hands four hundred and eighty dozen ermines; and he agreed to pay me for each beaver fifty piastres, for each sable six piastres, and for every dozen of ermines eight piastres; which produced the sum of twenty-eight thousand four hundred and forty piastres: the whole, and only remains of so considerable a fortune, as I had brought from Kamchatka! a scanty pittance, scarcely enough to pay the expences of putting into Macao.

This day, likewise, I gave orders to release Mr. Stephanow from his confinement, having received a formal apology on his part: the town made me, on the same day, a present of one thousand piastres in gold, with forty-two pieces of blue cloth, and twelve pieces of black satin; their present was accompanied with a request, that I would deposit a copy of my journal in their archives. I promised the deputies, that I would give them an historical extract, as I could

not act so much to the prejudice of my own interests, as to deprive myself of the merit of my manuscripts: this day I dined with the Bishop of Mitelopolis, Mr. le Bon, of French extraction; and I agreed with him that I would claim the protection of the French flag, for my passage to Europe, in which he promised me his advice and assistance.

On the 25th, Miss Aphanasia paid the debt of nature. Her premature death affected me greatly, and more especially as it deprived me of the satisfaction of repaying her attachment, by her marriage with the young Popow, son of the Archimandrite, to whom I had given the surname of my family: this day I dispatched Mr. Crustiew with letters to the Directors of the French Company, containing my reclamation of the protection of the colours of his Most Christian Majesty. He returned on the 29th, and brought me a very favourable answer, and the assurance of my passage, which news was very acceptable to me.

At Macao, October the 3d, 1771. A certain Mr. Gohr, Captain in the service of the English Company came to see me, and made me offer of services on the part of the Directors, and a free passage to Europe, provided I would bind myself to entrust my manuscripts to the Company, and engage to enter into their service, and make no communication of the discoveries I had made: this proposition, so evidently interested, disgusted me; but I was contented to answer, that I was very sensible of the obliging offer he had made; but that, as I had accepted those of the French Directors, it was not in my power to change my determination: that with respect to my entering into the service of the Company, it did not appear to me to be so easy; because it was not only necessary that I should be assured of a superior station, but that in the mean time all my people should be provided for; and that our common lot, and the execution of several projects

should be secured. My answer surprized Mr Gohr, who took his leave in an affected manner: the moment after his departure, I learned that Mr Stephanow had accompanied him; and from thence I inferred, that I should still find new causes of discontent on his part, which accordingly happened, as will appear in the sequel.

On the 4th of October, I received a letter from Mr. L'Heureux, Director * for the Dutch Company. He sent me a present of cloth, wine, beer, brandy, salt provisions, and two thousand piastres. His letter and presents were accompanied with the offer of a passage for me to Batavia, and the assurance that I should be received into the Company's service. But, as he made the same proposal as the English, I refused the acceptance of his presents, except the liquors.

On the 6th, Mr. Jackson, an English merchant established at Macao, arrived with Mr. Beyz: they renewed the propositions made by Mr. Gohr, and shewed me full powers, signed by the English Council at Canton, to regulate the conditions of my engagement, and to offer a present of fifteen thousand guineas: the first *sine qua non* was, that the Company, in consideration of my consigning my manuscripts, and entering into their service, should grant me a pension of four thousand pounds sterling, reversible to my children; and that they should settle on each officer a pension of one hundred pounds, and each associate thirty pounds; and that they should give me every assistance in forming establishments beyond China. On this first condition the Plenipotentiaries acknowledged, that they had not sufficient authority to conclude with me, and retired, after begging that I would well consider their offers: this evening the Governor informed me, that the four English gentlemen had been with him, and that he thought several of my associates were gained

* Or Supercargo.

by the English. In fact, these gentlemen, piqued at their want of success, raised embarrassments among my people, in which Mr. Stephanow was of wonderful service to them.

On the 12th, I received a letter from Mr. de Robien, Director of the French Company at Canton, wherein he informed me that two of the Company's ships, the Dauphin and the Laverdi, were ready to receive me and all my people on board: the same day Mr. Kuzneczow informed me, that he had discovered a plot, at the head of which was Stephanow, who had engaged to deliver my journals and papers to the English, for the sum of five thousand pounds sterling; and to prove the fact, he shewed me a letter of Mr. Jacksons, wherein that merchant asserted that Messrs. Gohr, Hume, and Beg, were ready to pay the sum on the delivery of all my papers. On this information, I took all my papers out of my chest, and put them into the hands of the Archbishop of Mitelopolis, unperceived by any of my companions.

On the 15th, the associates met by my order. I informed them, that I was assured that a number among them were discontented with me; for which reason I thought proper to declare to them, that all those who were desirous of seeking their fortune elsewhere, were at liberty to quit me; and that as they had all received a retribution at my hands at the island of Formosa, I thought myself acquitted from them. I had scarcely made an end, before Mr. Stephanow loaded me with invectives, and charged me with an intention of depriving the company of their share of the advantages I was about to receive, from the knowledge I had acquired during the voyage; and that the moderation I had shewn at Formosa, in delivering my share of the presents of Prince Huapo, was merely a scheme to deprive them of greater advantages. He then excited the companions to throw off my authority, by assuring

them that he would secure them a large fortune the instant they should determine to put my papers in his hands, and follow his party. The infamous plot of this wretch was nothing extraordinary; but when I understood that he was supported by Mr. Wynbladth, my ancient Major, the companion of my exile, and my friend, I was incapable of setting bounds to my indignation, and could not avoid declaring, that their proceedings were highly disgraceful; and to confound them, I displayed their secret projects to the company, and justified my words by shewing Mr. Jackson's letter, which convinced them that Messrs. Stephanow and Wynbladth, under pretence of serving the company, were desirous of securing the five thousand pounds to their own use. They were highly irritated, and threatened them; but Stephanow preserved a party of eleven, with whom he went to my lodgings; and while I remained in conversation with my friends, he seized my box, in which he supposed my papers were deposited. As soon as I heard of this outrage, I went to his chamber, followed by twenty associates; and as he refused to open the door, I broke it down. On my entrance he fired a pistol at me, which missed. In consequence of this attempt, I gave orders for seizing and keeping him in strict confinement; and as it was necessary likewise to secure Mr. Wynbladth, I went to his chamber; but he had retired into the garden, armed with a pair of pistols and a sabre. I determined to shut him in, being convinced that he could not get over the walls on account of their great height. This whole affair passed without the least alarm without, as the doors of the house were shut.

On the 16th, Mr. Wynbladth, fatigued by a continual rain, and perhaps urged by hunger, requested forgiveness, and surrendered himself to two companions I had appointed to watch him. Having thus made sure of these two turbulent men, I thought it proper

they should be separated from the company; and they were therefore conducted to the castle by permission of the Governor: the officers of our company, being desirous of avenging themselves on the English emissaries, played them a trick, the whole effect of which fell upon a Jewish agent, who was severely flogged. Upon this wretch there were found minutes of proposals which he made to the companions, as follow:

1. That the English would pay to each associate one thousand piastres, in case they would serve the company, and put my papers in his hands.

2. That in case the associates refused to take the English party, the company would arrest them by force, in the name of the Empress of Russia, to deliver them up.

3. That the company would answer for obtaining the Empress's pardon for them, if they would determine to make a voyage to Japan, and the Aleuthes Islands.

Such proceedings cannot be attributed to men of sense. It was in my opinion a forgery, concerted between Mr. Stephanow and the Jew, to excite the associates against me.

On the 22d, I was attacked by a violent fever, and the Governor had the goodness to offer me an apartment in his house. I accepted his offer with the more pleasure, as the noise of my companions was insupportable. I therefore entrusted the command this day to Mr. Crustiew, and retired to the Governor's, where my illness continued till the 18th of November. During this period, four of my associates and three of their women died. The following is a list of those who died at Macao:

Miss Aphanasia du Nilow,
Mess. Maxim Csurin,
Asaph Baturin,
Philip Zablicow,
Nicholas Perevalow,

John Perevalow,
The Wife of Perevalow,
Andrew Maschinskoy,
George Panow,
Gregory Novozilow,
Stephen Kazakow,
Alexander Ziran,
George Nolinkin,
George Voronow,
Alexis Zacharka,
Boleslaus Sipskoy,
Laurence Chodin,
Prince Zadskoy,
Nicolas Zarskoy,
Casimir Levantiew,
James Lubimoy.

The great number of deaths in so short a time, gave me a very unfavourable opinion of the climate of China, at least of the Southern Provinces of the empire.

On the 25th of November, the Governor, seeing my health established, and being determined to lodge me in future among my companions, informed me that during my illness he had had great debates with the Chinese on my account, because the English Directors had informed them, that I was a pirate, and deserter from the Russians; and that upon this information, the Governor or Viceroy of Canton, had required the Governor to deliver me up, or, at all events to make me depart immediately; and that he had obtained a delay till my recovery. For this reason he advised me to pretend that my illness still continued, until the time the French vessels should be ready to sail. From his embarrassment, I perceived he was apprehensive that he might find my affair troublesome to himself. I therefore begged him to remain neuter, and undertook to terminate the business with the Chinese myself.

On the 26th, I secretly dispatched Mr. Hiss and Mr. Crustiew to Canton, with a memorial for the Viceroy, and a letter for Mr. Robien, in order that he might present it at the audience of the Chinese chief.

My deputies did not return till the 3d of December; when they brought me a chopp, or permission to wait upon the Viceroy at Canton. This imperial officer sent a superb vessel, with sixty-four oars for me, and caused a letter to be written to me, importing, that he was informed of the falsity of the insinuations against me, and hoped to convince me of the justice, which the Chinese knew how to render to heroes like me. This disposition was very flattering; but my satisfaction was of short duration, for on the 5th, which was fixed for my departure, the Mandarin, Hoppo of Macao, let me know, that if I did not intend to travel as far as Pekin, it was of no use to go to Canton, as the Viceroy had nothing to communicate: this sudden change surprized every one, and especially the Bishop of Mitelopolis, who was strongly interested in my favour. I was in doubt with myself this day, whether I should go to Pekin. I was greatly affected; for I should have been exceedingly gratified with the view of the capital, and interior parts of the Chinese empire: and a favourable opportunity now presented itself; but to have embraced it, would have required me to abandon my project, and defer my return to Europe. It was not till after much deliberation, that I at last determined to give up my intention of going to Canton.

On the 6th of December, my Japanese traveller appeared again, having suffered an illness of ten weeks. His recovery was very agreeable to me, as his person interested me strongly. This day, upon examining my chests, I found that the collections I had made of various kinds, in the course of my voyages, had disappeared; and I at last heard, to my extreme grief, that Stephanow and Wyndbladth had sold the whole

to the English Jew. I immediately sent after him; but the rascal had retired, after his correction, to Canton. Mr. Sibaew assured me, that the Jew had bought the whole for one thousand five hundred piastres; whereas the pearls alone which I had, were worth five times that sum.

On the 7th, the Bishop of Mitelopolis informed me, that he was informed by the Secretary of the Hoppo, (a Christian in secret) that the declaration of his master was false, and that the Viceroy was angry at not seeing me. He attributed this conduct to the intrigues of Mr. Jackson, and endeavoured to persuade me to write another memorial to the Viceroy; but as I thought this step of no advantage to my interests, I refused to comply with his advice, being contented with being permitted to remain undisturbed at Macao.

On the 10th, I assembled all my companions, and proposed to them to embark on board the French ships, in order to return to Europe: they consented, and submitted entirely to my orders. This day, having received the apology and entreaties of Mr. Wyndbladth, I released him from confinement; but as I could not place the same confidence in Mr. Stephanow, I paid him four thousand piastres, with leave to go where he pleased. He immediately took part with the Hollanders, whose director, M. L'Heureux, expecting to derive some information from him concerning our voyage, received him, and sent him to Batavia.

On the 20th, I gave orders to make every preparation for our departure, having this day received the conventions, signed between me and the Captain, M. de St. Hilaire, in the service of the French East-India Company. These conventions were ratified by M. Robis,* Director of the Company; in which I engaged to pay the sum of one hundred and fifteen thousand

* Robien is the name of the Director mentioned page 446, where it is written in the MS. in the Count's hand-writing. T.

livres Tournois, for the passage of myself, and all my people, to L'Orient.

On the 26th, having received information that it was necessary I should be provided with a chopp, or order of the Viceroy, to permit me to enter the river Tigu, I sent Mr. Hiss, as my commissioner for that purpose, to the Viceroy.

January the 1st, 1772. M. Hiss returned with the order, which cost me four hundred and fifty piastres for three boats, which had been permitted to carry myself and people to the mouth of the Tigu.

On the 2d, I sold my vessel to a Portugueze merchant, for the sum of four thousand five hundred piastres, ready money, and as much on credit: the Governor reserved to himself the whole of the stores.

From the 5th to the 12th, I was employed in liquidating my accounts; and after having settled every thing, I found myself totally destitute.

On the 13th, I took my leave of the Governor, and chiefs of the town; and in the evening I embarked on board three sampans, with all my people, to go on board the French vessels, which were appointed to receive us at the time of their leaving the harbour of Canton.

On the 14th, we quitted Macao, where the Governor saluted me with twenty-one guns, from the principal fortress; and, after a tedious passage, we arrived at last at the mouth of the Tigu; where we were very civilly received by a Mandarin, though he at first refused to permit us to go on shore: the sight of a purse of piastres, however, abated his severity; which was so much altered by this circumstance, that he offered permission for us to take lodgings in the fort. His complaisance was very acceptable, for the ships did not arrive till the 22d; and in the mean time, I was at liberty to ride out on horseback, accompanied by some Tartars.

On the 22d, we at last saw the two ships; the first of

which was the Dauphin, of sixty-four guns, commanded by the Chevalier de St. Hilaire, on board which I embarked, with half my people; and the second was the Laverdi, of fifty guns, which received the other half. After our embarkation we sailed for the isle of France.

On the 27th, we passed the English bank, on which we had soundings at thirty-six fathoms, sand and broken shells.

On the 4th of February we crossed the equator.

On the 6th, in the Straits, we joined a Spanish armed frigate, named the Pallas; and on the 16th of March, we arrived safely at the isle of France. My arrival here was so much the more agreeable, as I was perfectly tired of the many questions the French proposed to me, respecting my discoveries during my former voyage: this voyage gave me an ample knowledge of the predominant character of a nation, to which I shall probably attach myself in future. As soon as we came to anchor, and the Governor, the Chevalier de Roche, was informed that I was on board, he sent a boat belonging to the government, to bring me on shore.

On my entrance into the town, I was received with military honours, and had the pleasure to be very amicably received by the Governor, who offered to accommodate me in his own house. I accepted this friendly offer with great satisfaction; more especially as I hoped, that his experience would be of service to me, in directing my conduct, with regard to the French Court and Ministry. After a day's repose, the Governor invited me to accompany him in his excursions upon the island; and these little journies made me acquainted with some of the interests of the French government, though I could never agree to call this establishment a colony. For the isle of France can never be made any thing more than a military post.

The arrival of Lieutenant Kreguelin, was a great relief to me. For this navigator having returned from

a voyage to the Southern lands, gave employment to all the politicians and idle talkers of the island; who before his appearance, had no other object but myself. I became acquainted with this officer; but from what I had myself seen in the North, I could not believe that he had discovered such agreeable countries, as he asserted to exist on his Southern continent.

On the 1st of April, the Captain acquainted me, that he intended to depart on the 4th, and I got ready my little accommodations, by the generous assistance of the Governor, who lent me a sum of money. On the 4th, having taken my leave, I embarked; and the Governor, with all the officers, paid me a visit on board. In the evening we set sail.

On the 12th, we anchored at the Island of Madagascar, where I went on shore at Fort Dauphin. Some particulars of information I had received from the Governor of the isle of France, induced me to wish for more ample information, respecting this fine and extensive island; but unfortunately for this purpose, I could not prolong my stay, but went on board again on the 14th.

On the 27th, we doubled the Cape of Good Hope.

On the 28th, we spoke with two French vessels, outward bound to India.

On the 24th of May, we saw two English vessels in the latitude of St. Helaira; and on the 18th of July, we happily arrived at the Isle de Croix. As soon as we had come to, I sent an officer to the Lieutenant du Roy, at Port Louis, who permitted me and all my people to lodge there.

On the 19th, I went on shore, and was very politely received by the Commandant; who agreed to send a courier to the Minister with my packets, which I addressed to the Duc D'Aiguillon.

On the 2d of August, I received an invitation from the Duc D'Aiguillon, which was brought by a messenger of state.

On the 8th of August, I arrived in Champagne, where the Minister then was, who received me with cordiality and distinction, and proposed to me to enter into the service of his master, with the offer of a regiment of infantry; which I accepted, on condition that his Majesty would be pleased to employ me in forming establishments beyond the Cape. In France, likewise, I had the happiness to find my uncle, the Count de Benyow, Commandant of the castle and town of Bar, Commander of the Royal Order of St. Lazare, and Chevalier de St. Louis. The assistance of this worthy relation, and the benevolence of his Majesty, put me in a condition to send an express into Hungary, to enquire after my spouse and child. She arrived at the end of the year; but she had the misfortune to see her son expire, at the instant of the arrival of my courier. An event which was the more affecting, as I was then in a situation to provide for him very advantageously in France.

In the course of the month of December, the Duke d'Aiguillon proposed to me from his Majesty, to form an establishment on the island of Madagascar, upon the same footing as I had proposed upon the island Formosa; and I at last complied with the desire of this Minister, to whom I shall be ever bound in gratitude, as well as personal esteem and attachment.*

* Here ends the second volume, according to the division of the Count, who has in this place annexed his abridged signature.

# A MEMOIR

CONCERNING THE

EXPEDITION to MADAGASCAR, for the Formation of a Royal Establishment on that Island; the Execution and chief command of which, were intrusted by his MAJESTY,* to the COUNT DE BENYOWSKY, proprietary Colonel of a Corps of Volunteers, in 1772.

## PRELIMINARIES.

As the success of every remote enterprize which is intended to form an establishment of Europeans, is dependant always on precise orders and instructions, as well as preparations and well-founded operations, made in consequence of a knowledge of the country, and proportioned to the advantages which are proposed to be obtained, I think it necessary to give an account of the circumstances which preceded my arrival on this island. Circumstances which prove, that notwithstanding the very scanty means which have been afforded me, I have succeeded in forming treaties of friendship and alliance with the greater part of the inhabitants of this extensive island; and, consequently, that if I had not been, as I may say, totally abandoned by the Minister,

* The King of France.

which was the source of the miseries, diseases, and mortality, to which myself and my people were exposed; the island of Madagascar, at this day in alliance with France, would have formed a power, capable of supporting her colonies of the isles of France and Bourbon, and defending her establishments in India, as well as securing new branches of commerce to that kingdom, which would have carried immense sums into the royal treasury.

In order to exhibit in the most perspicuous manner, the different obstacles which I have experienced since my arrival in this island, and to develope those events which by sudden revolutions have procured me favourable advantages in forming this establishment, I shall give an account of the original dispositions of the Minister, upon which it was ordered that I should regulate my operations.

Here follows the account:

On the 15th of September, 1772, Mr. De Boynes, Secretary of State for the Marine department, communicated to me the intentions of his Majesty, to make a considerable enterprize on the island of Madagascar, and, that his Majesty had determined to entrust this expedition to my care. In consequence of which, he informed me of these determinations, that I might take the most speedy and proper measures to carry this important and honourable enterprize into execution.

After having thanked this Minister for the confidence he honoured me with, I observed, that having no knowledge of Madagascar, and being absolutely ignorant of the nature of the enterprize which his Majesty was desirous of entrusting me with, I could not myself regulate the measures necessary for such an expedition; the success of which would depend on orders and means, in conformity to which I should regulate my operations with the greatest exactness.

The Minister, after having assured me that nothing

which might be necessary to secure the success of my mission should be wanting, added, that the intention of his Majesty was to form an establishment at Madagascar, in favour of which, at some future time, a much more extensive plan might be carried into execution, by gaining the confidence of the King, Princes, and chiefs of the country, and engaging them to put their island under the protection of his Majesty. Upon this I represented, that in order to execute an enterprize of this nature, and of such great importance, in so remote a country, the intemperate climate of which, together with the jealousy of the inhabitants, had so often deranged the projects, and rendered former attempts abortive, the operations would require well-combined dimensions, considerable forces, and continued supplies, to prevent any thing from being left to chance. The Minister approved my representations, and promised to provide for everything; reserving to himself the regulation of the different details, which my mission might require, and which he proposed to concert with me at the end of the month.

Some days after the Minister, having sent for me to his hotel, informed me, that the intentions of his Majesty were to entrust me with the command of a military corps of twelve hundred men; and that during the time I should be employed in raising them, he would take care to give the most precise orders, that nothing might be wanting to expedite the considerable enterprize to which I was invited. I represented to the Minister, that the number of one thousand two hundred men appeared to me to be too considerable for an enterprize, where nothing more was intended than to gain the confidence of the natives of the country; and I requested, that the troop destined to accompany me to Madagascar, might not amount to more than three hundred men. To this proposal the Minister agreed.

On the 20th of January, 1773, the recruits being

raised, I informed the Minister, and requested his orders, and the communication of his instructions, respecting the enterprize in which his Majesty designed to employ me. He replied, that he had not yet been able to work upon it; and that he had put it into the hands of the first Commis. I waited upon the latter, whom I found busied in drawing up the plan; but his work not being finished, I could not receive any precise information from him.

At the beginning of February, the Minister having sent for me again, declared that the plan drawn out by his Commis, was not to his mind; and that he left me at liberty to draw it out myself. He ordered me likewise to add the necessary demands for the execution of my mission, and said, that the intentions of his Majesty were to form at Madagascar a simple establishment, by favour of which the subsistence of the islands of France and Bourbon might be secured, or new branches of trade might be opened, and men supported, who might be serviceable in India in the next war which might happen. He concluded, by exhorting me to omit nothing in this plan of all the demands necessary for its execution. From these particulars of information, which I learned from the mouth of the Minister, concerning my commission, I continued to confer with Mr. Audat, the first Commis, who had no knowledge of Madagascar, but from the contradictory relations of merchants, which were more suited to confuse the subject, than to give the slightest information relative to my expedition. He communicated to me several accounts of Madagascar, and a map of the island; from which, as well as from the particular account of Mr. Johannis, Captain of a vessel, who had made several voyages to Madagascar, I founded the plan which follows:

A PLAN WHICH WAS PRESENTED TO THE MINISTER FOR SECURING THE PERFORMANCE OF MY OPERATIONS AT MADAGASCAR.

## ARTICLE I.

The minister will please to give orders for my passage, with my corps of volunteers for the isle of France, with one year's provision of meat, drink, and pay.

## ARTICLE II.

He will please to give orders to the chiefs of the Isle of France to furnish me with two vessels of the burden of one hundred and twenty, or one hundred and fifty tons each; which will serve to transport the troops and necessary provisions for the establishment at Madagascar. One of these vessels should remain subject to my orders, to be employed in the coasting service of the island, and the other to return to France, in order to inform the minister of the position and success of the enterprize, with other circumstances necessary to be communicated.

## ARTICLE III.

The minister will please to give orders to the chiefs of the isle of France, to supply me with merchandize to the value of two hundred thousand livres, with a supply of artillery and warlike stores, together with utensils for the hospitals, and workmen, with their instruments and tools for the construction of the necessary habitations of his majesty's people.

## ARTICLE IV.

To avoid the ravages which the unwholesomeness of the climate of Madagascar might occasion, during the time of erecting proper buildings on the spot, the minister will please to order the chiefs of the isle of France to supply me with four buildings framed in

wood; one to serve as a general storehouse; the second as an hospital; the third as a barrack; and the fourth for my own habitation.

ARTICLE V.

The minister will please to join to my mission, persons attached to the administration, to regulate and conduct the affairs of finances and accounts; and who, at the same time, may take charge of the commercial business, while my attention is directed to the forming of the establishment.

ARTICLE VI.

The minister will please to order the chiefs of the isle of France to assist me, in case of need, with men, provisions, ammunition, articles of trade, and money for the pay of my troops.

ARTICLE VII.

The minister will please to send out to me the first year, one hundred and twenty recruits, to keep up the establishment, until I can receive his final instructions.

After having presented to the minister this plan, reduced into seven articles, I protested to him that I should succeed in gaining the confidence of the natives of the country, and in forming the intended establishment, if my demands were exactly complied with; but that, as operations of this nature indispensably required a particular and studied knowledge of the place, I should have the honour to address to him a more extended and better combined plan, with circumstantial details and topographic charts of the country, and information respecting the manners, laws, and governments of the islands; and, lastly, a regular statement of the demands proper to be complied with, to secure the execution of so vast a project.

The minister, after having read my propositions, approved them so far as to assure me, that he would give an account of them to his Majesty, and that I might depend on the whole being executed to my utmost satisfaction. The particular conferences which I had, during the course of the month of February, with Mr. De Boynes, and the Duke D'Aiguillon confirmed me more and more in the persuasion, that nothing would be wanting for my expedition.

On the 19th of March, being sent for by the minister, I received a letter, which contained the intentions of his majesty, concerning the formation of the establishment of Madagascar, with the copy of another, addressed to the chiefs of the isle of France; and he recommended to me at the same time, to repair without delay, with all my men, to port L'Orient, where I should receive his orders for my passage to the isle of France.

I then saw that my mission was in some respect abandoned to the discretion of the chiefs of that island; and that the slightest want of disposition, or misunderstanding on their part, would be capable not only of injuring my operations, but even of entirely frustrating them. I made my representations to the minister, at the same time requesting him to change the contents of the letter addressed to them; and to cause me to be supplied from France with the most indispensable supplies. His answer was, that there was no more time to make any change in these dispositions; that he was assured of the good disposition and zeal of the chiefs of the isle of France, who certainly would not suffer me to be in want of any assistance; and, lastly, that being upon the spot, I might do every thing which I judged of advantage to the service. He added, that he would besides provide by new orders for the particular supplies, which the safety of the establishment required.

Notwithstanding this decisive answer, I ventured to make new representations on the inconvenience which

might result from such an arrangement; but the minister persisted in his first answer; and added, that the intentions of his majesty being, that I should repair as speedily as possible to the isle of France, I could not hasten my departure too much. I therefore left him, with my mind filled with the evils and sufferings to which myself and my troops would be exposed. It was with a view to prevent these that I addressed myself to the Duke D'Aiguillon; to whom I communicated the orders and dispositions of the minister, respecting my mission, and the just fears which they produced of my want of success. But the Duke comforted me with the promise that he would confer with Mr. De Boynes, that the face of affairs would certainly change, and that I might make myself easy.

The following day Mr. Audat, first Commis of the marine, came to me, and informed me, that the minister being busied with important and pressing affairs, could not confer at that moment with me, concerning my mission, but that he had sent him to assure me, that every thing should be done to my utmost satisfaction; that he had determined to change the letter addressed to the chiefs of the isle of France, and even to augment the demands I had made; that I might depart immediately for that island, as I should soon be joined by succours dispatched immediately from France; and that, in the mean time, the chiefs of the isle of France would supply me conformably to the orders transmitted to them with the supplies I might want before the arrival of those which I should receive immediately at Madagascar, and which would in future place me in a situation to do without supplies from that island; and, lastly, that with regard to the letter addressed to the chiefs of the island, the most essential articles had been changed, in order to let them know that I was left master of my operations, and that they were no

otherwise concerned in my mission than in supplying me with the indispensable assistance I might want.

This overture of the first Commis, satisfied me so much the more, as I conceived the pleasing hope of acquitting myself with honour, in the important commission, which it had pleased his majesty to entrust me with.

On the 22d of March, I took my audience of leave; and had the satisfaction to hear a confirmation of the news from the mouth of the minister; who put letters and instructions into my hands, and added the following words, "I shall provide for all your demands, and "you will have reason to be contented with me." Being thus dispatched by the minister, I departed for L'Orient; where I embarked on board the vessel La Marquise de Marbeuf.

On the 22d of September, I landed on the isle of France, where I found a detachment of my corps, who had arrived before me; the rest had remained at L'Orient to wait for ships. On my arrival in this colony, Mr. de Ternay, the Governor, was absent, and did not return till the month of October; and as Mr. Maillart had refused to confer alone with me on the affairs of my mission, before the return of the Governor, I waited till that time; and then demanded four days to regulate affairs with them, concerning my departure to Madagascar. In answer to this, these gentlemen replied, that their objects being separate, they would not confer with me, but each individually. I therefore waited on Mr. De Ternay, on the 22d of the month; of whom, after having communicated my orders, I demanded the furniture and assistance necessary to my operations. But he replied, that no particular order had been addressed to him relative to my mission; that the general letter of the minister, regarded Mr. Maillart more than himself, since the furniture and assistance

I stood in need of, depended on the treasury funds, which he did not concern himself with; that he would do his duty, in whatever related to the formation of my corps, and would put into my hands his majesty's packet the Postillion, which had been forwarded by the Court, for the service of my mission; and, lastly, that all the rest related to the intendant.

After this interview, I waited on Mr. Maillart, to whom I likewise communicated the orders of the minister; and gave him a statement of my demands of furniture and assistance, necessary to the execution of my mission, of which I gave a detail of the circumstances; at the same time urging such reasons, as appeared to me the most persuasive, to induce him to concur in every thing which might depend on him, and might promote the good of the service, on this occasion. But what was my surprize to hear him say, that he was very much astonished, that the Court had undertaken such an expedition, so prejudicial to the isle of France; all whose merchants would be ruined, if the establishment should succeed at Madagascar; where, by their concurrence, they carried on an advantageous commerce, which could not be legally prohibited by a simple letter of the minister; but that, nevertheless, he would see what could be done, until he received the most positive orders of the Court: but that he could not avoid informing the Court, that the project was impracticable; because the Madagascar people having for one hundred and fifty years past, repelled all the attempts of France, they would not submit at this moment, when they were united under a solid government formed by themselves.

Such an answer, from the second in command of the colony, confirmed still more the fears I had conceived at Versailles, that I was to be abandoned to the mercy of a jealous party; who, as several reports evinced, did not scruple to declare publicly, against the establish-

ment at Madagascar, and who had already begun to strike the first strokes; which, as will hereafter be seen, have placed the establishment in the most unhappy situation.

On the 28th of October, Mr. De Maisonville, whom the minister had nominated to the place of sub-commissary and store-keeper under me, having refused to go to Madagascar, Mr. Maillart nominated in his place, the Sieur Vahis, a ship's clerk, of known bad character; whose public impositions rendered him unworthy of a post, which required an equal share of probity and capacity. I made my representations on this subject to Mr. Maillart, assuring him, that I never would have any connection with a disgraced man; and that he must immediately make choice of a person, more worthy of such a situation. He contented himself with answering, that the Sieur Vahis was good enough for Madagascar; where he had no wish to expose people of any value, as it was sending them to certain destruction. The indignation which such a reply deserved, led me to take the most prudent step. I turned my back upon him.

On the 24th of the same month, I conferred again, and more amply, with Mr. De Ternay, respecting my mission; and gave him an affecting sketch of the unhappy position in which my corps was about to be placed, and the sufferings to which we should be exposed, if he persisted in refusing the assistance I demanded. But I could do nothing with this Governor, who publickly asserted, that the establishment at Madagascar could not succeed, because the minister had been so indiscreet, as not to consult the chiefs of the isle of France, on the means necessary to be employed.

Mr. Maillart, on the other hand, continually repeated, that the minister ought to have confided this expedition solely to the chiefs of the isle of France; because, being personally interested, they

would have provided for all the assistance which might have been required; instead of which, the orders of the minister concerning the supplies to be made to the establishment, being ambiguous, they durst not proceed upon them.

I perceived, therefore, that no other steps remained for me to take, than that of hastening my departure for Madagascar, at the risque of being exposed to the last misery, and to be abandoned in the most cruel manner, until the arrival of the supplies directly from France, which I expected from the minister. This determination, though violent, was most suitable to my engagements, and my sense of honour. I therefore overlooked all the inconveniencies, and gave orders for the departure of the packet, the Postillion, with a detachment of thirty men; and instructions for making enquiries respecting the place, manners, and power of the inhabitants; in order that I might be better enabled to expedite my operations, in obedience to the orders his majesty had honoured me with.

On the 7th of December, the Sieur Saunier, Lieutenant of a frigate, and Commander of the Postillion, set sail, and departed the same day with my detachment, on his way to Madagascar. From the road he wrote me a letter, in which he informed me, that Mr. Maillart, notwithstanding the requisition I had made for the good of the service, and the repeated promises he had made to comply with them, had given no orders, but for objects of small consequence; and those not sufficient for the ordinary presents to the chiefs. He added, that he had refused him a supply of brandy, for the subsistence of the detachment; and that he should be obliged to deliver that article out of his own stores.

Justly astonished at what I heard, I waited upon Mr. Maillart, for an explanation of these circumstances; but his answer was, that the Court had left him master

of his own operations, in whatever related to Madagascar, and that it would be of no use for me to apply to him in future, upon that subject.

In several conversations I had with Mr. De Ternay, for the seven following days, I begged him to persuade Mr. Maillart to comply with his duty, in respect to my mission; and, jointly, to let the merchants who frequented the coast of Madagascar know, that they were to suspend their commerce, till new orders were received from the minister; in order that I might take cognizance of abuses, and put the trade upon a footing more suitable to the advantage of the public, and of the settlement in particular. He acquiesced in my demand; but upon hearing that he had merely written, but not published his order, I redoubled my complaints; and had the mortification to receive for answer from Mr. Maillart, that he thought it very extraordinary, I should insist on an object, which was foreign to my department, as it related to a commerce, which being authorized, could not be prohibited, and still less abolished, by a simple letter of the minister.

On the 22d, the armament of my corps not being yet arrived from France, and having been obliged to exercise them with arms which had been borrowed, I requested arms of Mr. De Ternay, Lieutenant of the arsenal of the isle of France; and after several contests, I obtained them, and armed my troops in a proper manner, in consequence of the care I took to get the greatest part of the arms repaired.

On the 25th, being informed that a private ship was on the point of setting sail for Madagascar, and being desirous of seizing this opportunity, of forwarding my orders to Mr. Saunier and D'Esteruby, I sent for the Sieur Vahis, who still performed the functions of storekeeper, and enquired of him concerning the state of the fitting out of my expedition. To this he answered, that he was accountable only to Mr. Maillart, and not

me; and that he was not bound to attend to allest advice I might give him. This unexpected er from a man, who by the nature of the service as subjected to my orders, induced me to complain to Mr. Maillart; who coolly answered, that the Sieur Vahis acted according to his instructions, and that I must expect nothing more.

On the 28th, I again waited on Mr. De Ternay, to engage him to renew his conference with Mr. Maillart, upon the supplies required for my expedition. But he answered, that the minister having addressed his orders directly to Mr. Maillart, it was he alone who was charged with their execution. I therefore waited upon this Intendant, accompanied with my major, and a captain of the corps; and made the most pressing representations to him, by observing, that my demands were founded on his majesty's orders, signified by the minister, and that he could not, without failing in his duty, refuse me such things as my operations indispensably required. But his answer was such as I had no reason to expect from a man in place. He indulged himself in the most indecent observations on my mission; and had the confidence to say, that if Mr. De Ternay would follow his advice, he would put a stop to my expedition, because the Court had not reflected on this project, formed by a mere adventurer; and that even if the minister should give him the most positive orders, he would rather throw up his employment, than have any concern in a scheme so badly projected. This indecent answer obliged me to quit him without answering a word; and I availed myself of the departure of a ship for France, to inform the minister of all that had passed between the chiefs of the isle of France and myself.

At the beginning of the month of December, the rest of my people having arrived at the isle of France in the Laverdi, and being desirous of hastening my departure for Madagascar, I demanded of the chiefs of the

isle of France vessels for my transport; at the same time that I delivered to them a list of the most indispensable things, such as tools, medicines, and particularly twelve casks of vinegar, and three filtering stones. I insisted more strongly on these last articles, because I was fully informed of the bad qualities of the waters of Madagascar, which were either muddy, or charged with metallic matter; and that filtering stones and vinegar were the only means of rendering them less noxious, as had been proved with great success, in different European garrisons.

On the 11th of December, Mr. Maillart invited me to a conference, either at his house, or at that of Mr. De Ternay. I gave the preference to the former, where Mr. Maillart, in the presence of Mr. De Ternay, and Mr. De Bellecombe, ancient commandant at Bourbon, made excuses for his former behaviour, requested my friendship, and assured me, that the veil that had hitherto covered his eyes with regard to my mission, was now removed; and that he now knew, that the minister had particular reasons for employing me in the establishment at Madagascar; the labour of which he was ready to share with me, as far as it depended on the supplies to be furnished by him. He begged I would forget all that had passed, and grant him my friendship. My answer had no need to be studied. The Intendant appeared to be sensible of the impropriety of his conduct, and protested, that he was ready to exert himself, in promoting the success of my enterprize. I therefore assured him, that my esteem and friendship would always go together; and that from that moment, he was in possession of both. This protestation, on my part, was the more sincere, as I could form no idea, that a man in possession of a confidential employment, could be guilty of such a degree of imposition and hypocrisy; but the sequel will shew, that the Intendant had no such scruples.

On the 17th, Mr. De Ternay supplied me with artillery and military stores, which I was in want of for my departure; and I seriously set about exercising part of my men with the artillery, which they managed to my great satisfaction. Mr. Maillart, on his part, took the treasury chest out of the hands of the Sieur Vahis, and entrusted it to the Sieur Senaut, whom I was not acquainted with. These chiefs, some days afterwards, let me know, that they designed the vessel Le des Forges for my transport, which was every day expected from Bourbon; but Mr. Maillart observed, that he could send only a very small part of the articles of trade by that vessel; that the store-houses were absolutely without vinegar, and that he did not know what had become of the filtering stones; but that he would not fail to forward these by the first ship, even if he were obliged to buy them of the merchants. On the last day of the same month, I begged Mr. De Ternay to make a review of my corps, with that commissary. I caused my men to be supplied with clothes, as those which had been sent me had proved exceedingly defective.

January the 1st, 1774. Having received a packet from Madagascar, by which I learned, that the supplies delivered by the Postillion were so small, that my detachment had scarcely three months eatables, and that my presence was highly necessary, because some of the chiefs had already begun to commit hostilities; I addressed myself to Mess. de Ternay and Maillart, entreating them to furnish me with a vessel as early as possible, to carry me to my place of destination. But as those gentlemen replied, that they could not procure me one in the course of the month, all those which were at their disposal being employed in the service of the colony, I determined to freight a vessel myself, to carry succours and a reinforcement of men to my detachment. But I was prevented from doing this, by the promise of

Mr. de Ternay, who assured me, that I should have the vessel I demanded before the expiration of January. I therefore prepared my corps for their departure; but upon the report, that sixty-three men were in the hospital, I determined to leave them under the orders of Mr. Maring, my lieutenant colonel, under the conduct of captain de Sanglier, until their perfect recovery, when they were to be transported to Madagascar without delay. I learned, at the same time, that part of my troops were seduced by the other regiments; that some of my volunteers had already deserted, and that the disadvantageous observations on our expedition had been urged with such malice and success, that part of my officers had pretended sickness, with a view to delay their departure for Madagascar. I understood, likewise, that the chiefs of the isle of France had sent emissaries to Madagascar to the king Hyavi, and other chiefs, to warn them that I was come to deprive them of their liberty, and that I had no other intention than to impose the yoke of slavery upon the whole island.

In this unhappy situation, being apprehensive that his majesty's service might greatly suffer from so horrible a prejudice, I harangued my troops, and particularly my officers, who, conquered by the force of reasoning and their own sentiments of honour, returned to their duty, and chearfully disposed themselves to follow me. I then published my departure for Madagascar, and caused it to be proclaimed, that all volunteers, particularly workmen, who might be disposed to accompany me, should come and propose their conditions. This produced a considerable number of applications; but not knowing whether they were free, and being desirous of avoiding the slightest offence, I addressed myself to Mess. de Ternay and Maillart. The first replied, that he could not give permission to any one to leave the island; and Mr. Maillart said, and publicly

repeated the assertion, that he would openly oppose any person's departure who might chuse to follow me to Madagascar, because it would be sending them to the butchery. For he said, he had received information, that several bodies of armed islanders waited for me, in readiness to attack my forces. This Intendant carried affairs to such an height, as to endeavour to seduce one of my chief officers, and to prevail on him to send him a full account of my operations at all opportunities. Thus it was that this chief exerted himself in carrying the minister's orders into effect.

On the 22nd, I profited by the departure of his majesty's flute La Triquaire to send my packets to the court. The following days I was busied in embarking the effects of my troop; and Mr Maillart having assured me, that he would take care to deliver all the articles he had orders to furnish for Madagascar, I became easy. My visits being made and returned, I gave an entertainment on the 2d of February on the occasion of the birth of my son, at the Great River; after which I commanded my troops to repair to the harbour with colours flying. They immediately went on board, and I had the long-expected pleasure of setting sail for Madagascar at six in the evening.

On the 5th, the North winds obliged us to anchor at Bourbon, whence we departed on the 7th, and at last we arrived at the bay of Antongil, where we anchored on the 14th of the same month.

As the facts which I have related have no other connection with what follows, than by the various unhappy consequences they have produced, which originated in the want of disposition, or as I may say, original jealousies of the chiefs of the isle of France, they may be considered only as preliminary to the history of the establishment I have formed at Madagascar.

A FULL

# ACCOUNT OF PARTICULARS

RELATING TO THE

# ROYAL ESTABLISHMENT

AT

# MADAGASCAR,

Entrusted to M. the COUNT DE BENYOWSKY: from his Arrival on the Island on the 14th of February, 1774.

As soon as the Des Forges had come to anchor, I sent the small boat on shore, to bring the earliest news of the situation of my detachment, and the disposition of the islanders. The shore was lined with chiefs, who expressed the greatest satisfaction at seeing me: a circumstance which gave me no small pleasure. But these agreeable ideas were much diminished, upon entering the palisade which enclosed my men, and which, for want of effects to pay the blacks, they had been obliged to construct themselves. This hard work, at their first landing in an extremely hot country, had exhausted and reduced them to the most deplorable

state. The commanding officer and surgeon were both ill, without assistance or medicines, and under the necessity of keeping a continual guard day and night against the natives, who had made an irruption upon my feeble detachment with a number of armed men: and notwithstanding their weakness, they had defended themselves with such firmness, that they took seven prisoners from a chief named Raoul; but whom, by a stroke of policy, they had thought proper to send back without any ransom. All these circumstances, which I had learned by the accounts of Mr. Saunier and the Sieur de la Boulaye, volunteers in my corps, had almost entirely exhausted the detachment.

My first care was to use every exertion to give them all the assistance their unhappy situation required. They had no storehouse, barracks, nor hospital, nor even a lodging to receive me under cover from the open air. These different buildings could not be constructed in a short time, except by the islanders themselves. I therefore thought it proper to neglect no means of inducing them to enter into the interests of the establishment; and to gain their confidence, I caused the greatest number of them to meet together, to whom I distributed presents, and had the satisfaction to purchase several of the huts of the country, which served to lodge my officers and troops, until the indispensable buildings could be got forward. A hut was erected in haste, to serve for my lodging, and the work went on with such spirit, that I was able to disembark the troops I had brought with me the following day. They came on shore with all the pomp and in the best order possible, with a view to inspire the islanders with respect.

While these things were performing to the best of my wishes, I turned my thoughts to the discharge of the cargo. For this purpose, I demanded of Mr. de Saint Felix, commander of the Des Forges, the invoice

of the effects he had in his charge. But great was my astonishment to see that, notwithstanding the protestations and brilliant promises of Mr. Maillart, the vessel contained little or no liquor, nor articles of trade, and that the greatest part of the ship's cargo consisted of coals, an article then of the smallest importance. In this critical situation I was forced to purchase the wine, brandy, merchandize, and medicines the captain offered to sell me; and upon his refusing to take a letter of exchange upon the king, as I could by no means dispense with the goods, I gave him a bill on my own account for the sum of fourteen thousand five hundred livres.

The day after, February the 17th, having demanded workmen to assist in the works, Mr. de Saint Felix refused them, alledging an order of the chiefs of the isle of France; but as he did not shew me this order after I had summoned him so to do, I made use of the authority his majesty had been pleased to entrust me with.

February the 19th, I sent advice to all the chiefs of the province of Antimaroa to repair on the 1st of March to Louisbourg, that I might inform them of the intentions of his majesty respecting the establishment I was to form at Madagascar, and to engage them as much as possible in our interest. At the same time I gave orders to mount the artillery, and to secure ourselves from surprize. Upwards of two hundred natives were voluntarily employed in carrying earth to raise the ground above the level of the river, and to begin to fill the neighbouring swamp.

On the 23d, his majesty's frigate L'Oiseau, commanded by a Lieutenant, and his majesty's vessel Le Rolland, commanded by Mr. Kerguelen, having anchored in the road, with two hundred of their people sick, I gave them every assistance in my power; and more particularly an abundant supply of refreshments, by means of which their health was speedily restored.

On the 25th of the same month, his majesty's packet Le Dauphin, commanded by Mr. Feron, an attendant on the expedition of Mr. Kerguelen, anchored likewise in the road.

March the 1st, 1774. Having received information, that all the chiefs of the province of Antimaroa were on their way to Louisbourg, where I had appointed to hold a conference, I gave new orders, to guard against any surprize; and the following day I received them without our enclosure, accompanied with some of my officers, and a detachment of thirty men. These chiefs were twenty-eight in number, and were escorted by about two thousand armed blacks, who formed a circle, at the entrance of which I seated myself; and informed them by my interpreter, that the intentions of the king of France being to favour and take under his protection the inhabitants of Madagascar, in which he was actuated by a knowledge of their attachment to the French nation, he had resolved to form an establishment, to defend them against their enemies; and to keep warehouses, at which they would at all times find, at cheap rates, such merchandizes as they might want; namely, cloth, liquors, powder, balls, gun flints, &c. which should be furnished to them in exchange for the productions of their country, and in particular rice, which they could not cultivate too largely; and that in return for the advantages his majesty was disposed to heap on them, I required only the three following conditions:

The first was, that they should enter into a treaty of friendship and alliance with me, and grant me land to fix my establishments; and that they should permit the islanders to sell lands to such of the French nation as should be disposed to settle among them.

The second was, that they should allow me to establish in the inland part of the country, near the source of the river Tingballe, hospitals and store-houses upon a proper spot of ground.

And lastly, in the third place, that they should engage to defend the property of the establishment.

My interpreter had scarcely ended, before they all set up shouts of joy; and said, they could not doubt the good intentions of the king, as he had sent ships and troops to them, in preference to the other provinces, to support them against their enemies; that they acknowledged him from thenceforth as their friend, and should consent to cede to me the land upon which I had begun to form my establishment, provided I entered into an oath not to construct fortresses. With respect to the land I required up the country, they said they would consider of it; but that they required an oath, by which I should acknowledge that I had no right over them, and would confine myself to the simple title of their friend, in which quality I should assist them against their enemies.

Having acceded to the propositions, we celebrated the oath to ratify our union. This ceremony, which they call Cabar, was seconded by an entertainment, in which they drank a cask of brandy I distributed among them. My friends then returned to their own villages, where they celebrated new festivals, in testimony of their joy at having gained the friendship of the king of France.

On the 3d, I dispatched the Postillion, commanded by the Sieur Saunier, and attached to my expedition, with orders to repair to Foul Point, and dislodge the individuals who were endeavouring to prejudice the natives against my establishment; and to assure Hyavi, the king and grand chief of the province, of my friendship, as well as to make presents to him, and to engage him to demand my assistance against the Fariavas, with whom he was at war. This appeared to me the most certain method of obtaining permission to establish a post at Foul Point.

On the 9th, his majesty's packet Le Dauphin, sailed

for the isle of France, after receiving from me a supply of brandy and rice, of which she was in the greatest want.

On the information of my people, that the blacks in spite of their oaths, insulted the sentinels in the night, and the Sieur Senan, store-keeper, having at the same time made complaint, that the magazines had been robbed, I gave notice to the chiefs, that if any natives should approach the posts in the night, without answering the sentinel, as had been agreed, I should be forced to fire upon them. They only replied to my interpreters, that if I killed one black, they would in return kill ten whites. The same evening a black armed with his sagaye, having with others come near a sentinel, placed before a magazine, and instead of answering having thrown a sagaye at him, the sentinels fired upon them, slew one, and wounded two others. This action, though just, appeared to the natives a just cause of complaint and retaliation; which I took care to prevent, by removing them to the distance of our out-posts. To succeed in this without exposing my people I proposed to four chiefs, to sell me their villages, which surrounded Louisbourg. They consented, and evacuated them as soon as they were paid; and I gave immediate orders for demolishing them. In this manner I became master of the whole point of land, and my people were less exposed to opportunities of debauchery.

On the 11th instant, I sent on board his majesty's ships Le Rolland and L'Oiseau thirty oxen. The blacks, though they had retired, and were satisfied by the payment for their villages, did not abandon their design of ruining the establishment. I was informed by a free negress, that they had agreed to poison us all, beginning with myself, by means of the provisions they might sell us. In consequence of this, I forbad the purchasing any thing from the natives, until they had

themselves first eaten of it. This proof cost one of them his life; for by tasting some fruit he offered to sale, he suddenly fell down lifeless. His accomplices being informed of this tragical event, which disclosed their plot, fled up the river, where they laboured to stop the passage by felling trees across it. They likewise fired upon a detachment I sent to reconnoitre them.

The following day, a chief named Siloulout, under pretence of coming to render homage, requested an interview near a wood. This extraordinary demand, together with his refusal to come to the government, leading me to suspect some treachery, I sent out to watch his movements, and soon learned, that in consequence of an oath he had entered into with the Saphirobay, to assassinate me, he waited for my coming with about three hundred armed blacks; and that a much more considerable number were concealed in the wood. To frustrate this base attempt, I sent out two field pieces, preceded by fifty volunteers, commanded by two officers, who marched up to the enemy with such spirit, that this great multitude of blacks were struck with fear. Some retreated into the marshes, and the rest went on board their boats, whence they made the most violent discharge of their pieces, but without effect. This obliged me to point my field pieces at them. The first ball overset one of their largest boats, and killed several men. Two days after this event, I was informed by a female negro spy, that the chiefs Saphirobay and Siloulout, had formed with Raoul the project of a league with the neighbouring provinces, to destroy the establishment effectually. In order to avoid the effects of so dangerous a conspiracy, I gave orders to my major to march at eleven at night, with a detachment of sixty volunteers, and proceed in the boats of Le Rolland and L'Oiseau, direct to the enemies camp, which was about three leagues distant. The troops landed at three in the morning, and immediately

attacked them, and drove them into the wood; after which they reduced their village to ashes, and destroyed their works. This stroke restored the tranquillity of the establishment; and I went myself with my major and engineer, to examine an elevated island named D'Aiguillon, which is only one league distant from Louisbourg. Here I gave orders for constructing an oven, an hospital, and a redoubt for defending a botanical garden at the foot of the mountain of Discovery.

On the 21st, his majesty's two vessels, Le Rolland and Le Des Forges, set sail; the first for France, and the latter for the isle of France. Mr. Kerguelen left behind him twelve men attacked with the scurvy.

On the 24th, six neighbouring provinces, who were overjoyed at the catastrophe of the chiefs Raoul, Siloulout, and their other mortal enemies, deputed envoys to me, to propose an oath of friendship, and to make presents; in return for which, as well as to attach them to our interests, I caused brandy to be distributed among them in proportion to their number, which was considerable.

On the 26th, Saphirobay sent presents, and requested peace. I informed them, that after the attempts they had made against the establishment, it was pardon and not peace which they ought to require; and that I would not pardon them, so long as they acknowledged as their chief Raoul, whose infamous behaviour had been manifested in attempts against the settlement; and lastly, that they should begin by clearing the river, and leaving us the free liberty of navigating it. They retired with promises to comply with my demands; but the following day we had evident proof to the contrary, for the river was covered with trees loaded with fruit. I gave orders to examine what it was, and immediately found, that the Saphirobay had covered the river with tanguin, which is the strongest poison they are ac-

quainted with, and with which they intended to poison the river, which was the only water we used. I was therefore obliged for the preservation of my troops, to cause the river to be cleared, and to send a party of natives, engaged and commanded by a party of volunteers, to encamp and cut down and burn all the trees of this kind, which were in the neighbourhood of the river. This precaution, though expensive, was of the last necessity, to deliver us from certain destruction.

On the 30th, I repaired to Manambia, where I discovered an ore of copper on a mountain. I gave advice of this discovery to the minister, having first prohibited any one from touching it.

April the 1st, 1774. Several chiefs of Angontzi came to offer their friendship, with a promise of conforming to all the articles which had been proposed in the former Cabars; and at the same time requesting as a favour, that a trade might be established in their country. This induced me to send a Commis with four volunteers, and a quantity of merchandize.

In the night, between the 1st and 2d, having visited the posts myself, I perceived that seven volunteers, with their arms and baggage, were missing. These circumstances led me to suspect that they had deserted, and the accounts I received the following day convinced me of the truth of my suspicions. In this juncture I could make no use of my troops, on account of their imperfect knowledge of the place. I therefore sent a number of blacks after the deserters, commanded by the officers of my own corps. This precaution was the more necessary, as I had already received information, that more than fifty other volunteers, with two officers among their number, had agreed to follow the seven deserters. To prevent this second evil, I put the whole troop under arms, and after having reviewed them, and caused them to ground their arms, I commanded them to the right about, and marched them off without their arms, which

were all carried into my apartment. I immediately caused the criminals to be seized and bound; and the seven deserters having been brought back that evening, were questioned at a council of war, in which one of the conspirators was condemned to run the gauntlet, and thirty-three volunteers were condemned to the works. Their design appeared to be that of forming a league with the islanders for the destruction of the establishment, and favour their subsequent escape in some private vessel.

On the 6th, his majesty's packet the Postillion, which I had forwarded on the 3rd of March for Foul Point, returned, and gave me an account, that the chief Hyavi, notwithstanding all that had been said by private merchants against the establishment, was earnestly desirous of my friendship, and begged me to establish a post near him. He assured me, that he was ready to construct a palisade according to my demands, and that he would contribute every thing in his power, or in the power of the chiefs, under his orders, to the good of the establishment. The chiefs of St. Mary came the following day to request and stipulate a treaty of peace and friendship, and to enter into mutual oaths. They, at the same time, begged me to establish a post on their island, and begged I would forget the massacre they had formerly committed against the French; to which, they said, they were driven by the cruelty and tyranny of the French themselves. I was convinced of the truth of their account, and therefore promised to forget all that had passed. We therefore entered into mutual oaths, and I engaged to send a person to open a trade of brandy and effects, for whose safety the chiefs should answer upon their own lives.

On the 9th, the interrogatories, confrontations, and circumstances, relative to the plot which had given employment to a council of war on the 5th of the same month, afforded occasion for a second council, in which

the principal mover was condemned to run the gauntlet, another was flogged, and those who were less criminal were condemned to punishments adequate to their deserts.

On the 10th, his majesty's packet the Postillion being in want of careening, and having no provision of pitch and tar, they were supplied by a gum of the country, named by the islanders ditti moenti, which appeared to be of excellent use in those kinds of work.

On the 17th, I dispatched his majesty's vessel the Grand Bourbon with a detachment of a captain, one lieutenant, two serjeants, a drum, and eighteen soldiers, to Foul Point, with presents for Hyavi, the chief of that province, who had deputed his brother to me to enter into an oath of friendship in his name.

On the 20th, the Saphirobay, who, in order to regain my favour, had driven Siloulout out of their territories and degraded their chief Raoul, came to the number of twenty-two great chiefs and more than two thousand unarmed islanders; and after several testimonials of the most lively repentance, and a renewal of their oaths, I presented them with brandy and presents, which they received with marks of the greatest satisfaction and reiterated promises, that they would immediately bring their commodities, the price of which had been regulated in the Cabars. The following day the chief Raoul came to demand pardon, and permission to establish himself in his country; which I granted, on condition that he should not assume the title of prince.

On the 23d, judging it to be of the greatest importance to make myself acquainted with the internal part of the country, where, from the account of the islanders, there were very fine plains and rivers favourable to communication; I sent the Sieur Saunier, Lieutenant of a frigate, up the river of Tingballe, to make enquiries. He returned from his expedition on the 26th, and in-

formed me, that the river was navigable ten leagues from its mouth, and ran to the North West into the country; that before it arrives at its source it is divided into two branches, each navigable for about ten leagues. He added, that this river was bordered with very fine plains in good cultivation, and mountains covered with the most beautiful timber, which might be easily and at a little expence brought down to the settlement by water. I was greatly pleased with this discovery, as I already knew that the rivers opened three very advantageous places of trade, one to the West of the island of Bombatok, the other to the North of Cape D'Ambre, and the third to the East of Angontzi, of which all the rivers of communication discharge themselves into that of Tingballe. I therefore proposed to extend the establishment and cultivation into these different provinces, as soon as I should have received more important assistance than that which I had hitherto obtained from the isle of France.

On the 27th, the Grand Bourbon was obliged to return into the harbour, and take provisions for the detachment at Foul Point.

The chiefs of the Southern provinces came with presents to enter into the oath of friendship, and begged me to send one of my officers to dwell among them, and establish a trade. I sent an interpreter, with orders to make himself acquainted with these several provinces, some of which are more than one hundred leagues distant from the chief place; and in the mean time I suspended my further orders.

On the 28th, in the evening, being informed of the death of Mr. Senan, storekeeper of the establishment, I gave instructions to my major to affix seals on his chest, and all the magazines, and place sentinels upon them. My just fears of his bad conduct were confirmed the following evening, when we came to take an inventory of the general stores, and every part of the administration

which had been intrusted to him. The whole was in such bad order, that all his registers, as well of entries as deliveries, were entirely blank.

On the 29th, to hasten the advantageous communication, which I proposed to establish by land as far as the Western coast; a communication absolutely necessary to open a trade with the coast of Africa, and particularly with the province of Bombatok, which is extremely abundant in cattle and cotton; I sent Mr. Mayeur, an interpreter, with a serjeant and one hundred and fifty blacks, which were furnished by the allied chiefs, with instructions to make different establishments in his march; the first at the source of the river Tingballe, at the entry of a wood, and the other at the coming out; to construct a fort opposite Angonave, the first village of the Seclaves, dependant on Bombatok; to discover and clear the shortest road towards the Western coast; to enter into treaties of friendship with the chiefs of the interior part of the country; to convince them of the real advantages they might obtain from their commerce with the whites; to discover the most favourable branches of trade; to observe their forces, their inclinations, manners, and the climate of the country; to establish posts of rest for such escorts as might hereafter transport merchandize, and where they might deposit their effects; and lastly, to forget nothing which might contribute to the good of the establishment, and to give me advice of every thing they should do in the execution of their commission. But more especially, to exert themselves to clear the roads which were most easy to be passed through woods and over mountains. The Sieur Mayeur having received these instructions and the necessary provisions, began his march with all his people.

On the 30th, his majesty's Corvette le Necessaire, commanded by the Sieur Cordé, arrived with the Chevalier de Sanglier, captain in my troop, with twenty

volunteers, some clerks or writers, and certain individuals, who proposed to establish themselves on the island.

The position in which we then found ourselves, was so much the more deplorable, as several of my officers were either absent with detachments, or sick; the magazines were ill provided, and still worse administered; the hospitals furnished with very few medicines, and we had no surgeon able to assist the volunteers, who were enervated by the indispensable works and the heat of the climate. I had been obliged to employ them in the fortifications and in filling up the marshes. The military service of the night, which our proper safety required, succeeded to the fatigues of the day.—Every moment I waited with impatience for the performance of Mr. Maillart's promises, but we were forgotten, or rather forsaken.

The first days of the month of May were so critical, and my troops were so worn out with disease, that for want of a surgeon I was myself obliged to give them that assistance which my own feelings and attachment to the service could not but impel me to administer. But I was soon reduced myself to the same unhappy situation; I withstood the attacks of the fever for a whole week, and the intolerable head-ache with which it was attended. But at last, being unable any longer to resist, I gave orders for carrying me to the island D'Aiguillon for air, and to rest myself a little after my fatigue. His majesty's vessel the Grand Bourbon, set sail on the first, to carry my troops to their destination. For this purpose I intrusted the command of my corps to Mr. Marin, Lieutenant Colonel, and that of the place to Mr. Marigni, my major, and departed with my family. The change of air gave me some relief, and put me in a situation to look after my family, which was likewise attacked by the fever. For want of a surgeon I myself bled my spouse with a trembling hand, and fortunately

the effect was answerable to my wishes, and restored her to health.

On the 14th, the Grand Bourbon returned a second time, on pretence of wanting water, though Mr. Marigni gave me an account of a visit that he made on board the vessel, which shewed that she was provided with water for more than two months. I was then convinced, by the manœuvres of the officer who commanded the vessel, that he had particular reasons for his conduct, founded on instructions from the isle of France: but my health not permitting me to take the necessary informations respecting it, I determined to dissemble; and having learned, at the same time, that the Lieutenant Colonel and major of my corps were continually disagreeing, I embarked with my family, and returned to the main land, where my first care was to inform the chiefs not to come armed; and I gave orders to my major to watch more than ever against a surprize.

On the 18th, his majesty's vessel the Grand Bourbon, set sail for the third time.

My convalescence having required some care on my part, I deferred my operations till the first of June. I found great assistance in the care of Mr. Desmasures, master of the Bouquinville, who, in the height of my illness, entered the port. Our situation affected him so much, that he offered his services to Mr. De Marigni, who accepted them with the greatest pleasure; but I learned, with the utmost grief, that notwithstanding the attention of the Surgeon Major, there died, during my illness, Mr. Marin, Lieutenant Colonel of my corps, and fifteen volunteers. This considerable loss, and the well-founded apprehensions of its encreasing, obliged me to assemble my officers, to whom I proposed to send into the country, to enquire after a more healthy spot, to which we would immediately transport ourselves. This proposition was unanimously approved; and in consequence of their decision, Mr. De Marigni departed the

next morning, with a detachment, on the river of Tingballe, in search of an elevated spot. This day the chiefs of the neighbouring provinces came to testify their joy at the establishment of my health, and celebrated a public rejoicing, in which musket shot were not spared.

On the 8th, Mr. Marigni returned from his excursion, and informed me, that he had observed several fine plains up the river, at three or four leagues distance from the establishment; but that this distance having appeared to him too near the marshes on the sea-side, he continued to ascend the river as far as nine leagues, or thereabouts, from its mouth, where he stopped at a place named by the islanders the Plain of Health; which appeared to him the most proper to transport the establishment, because it was extensive and well sheltered, and was commanded by a mountain of the most advantageous kind for constructing a fort, which might fire over the river and a great extent of ground. This discovery was very agreeable to me, and I immediately sent a small detachment, commanded by an officer, to encamp and make trial of the air; and upon the good report they made, I sent the Sieur Corbi with a sufficient number of workmen to construct, as speedily as possible, habitations for us, and an hospital for the convalescents.

On the 9th, the third appearance of the Grand Bourbon, with my detachment, having fully convinced me of the motives which actuated the Captain of that vessel, who, during three months, had not thought proper to leave the road, I disembarked the troops which were on board that vessel, and gave orders to Mr. Saunier, commander of the Postillion, to hold himself in readiness to sail for Foul Point.

On the 12th, upon the report of Mr. Pruneau, employed in the administration and performing the office of store-keeper, that several different thefts had been committed in the King's store-houses, I caused the

most accurate enquiries to be made; but as they were fruitless, and I had violent suspicion of the clerks themselves, I charged one of my majors to superintend their conduct.

On the 22d, having received news from the Sieur Meyeur, that he had succeeded in opening a way to the Westward as far as the province Antanguin, and that the chiefs of that province would not permit him to proceed, I immediately sent the Sieur Corbi with a detachment of sixteen volunteers, commanded by a Serjeant, and twenty-four free Blacks likewise armed, to assist and second him in his operations.

On the 23d, the village of Sianie having taken fire, which was not above a musket shot distant from our establishment, and whose effects we could not avoid but by pulling down twenty of our houses, I judged it of the greatest importance to cause that chief to fix his dwelling on the other side of the river, and I obtained his consent, by purchasing those huts which the fire had spared.

On the 28th, his majesty's vessels the Grand Bourbon and the Postillion, being on the point of setting sail, the first for the isle of France, and the second for Foul Point; and having demanded provisions for their people, I caused all the remaining salt provisions and brandy which were in the magazines, and had been supplied from the isle of France, to be delivered to them; and upon the representations of Mr. De Marigni, that it was indispensably necessary to send back some volunteers, I gave orders to that effect; and at the same time I thought it proper to send back one of my officers, with letters addressed jointly to Messrs. De Ternay and Maillart, containing a statement of demands of things, which the establishment could not dispense with; and among others, filtering stones, medicines, surgeons, and some blacks, accustomed to the service of the hospitals, together with persons capable of over-looking the

preservation of his majesty's store-houses, and also flour and liquors. At the same time I demanded of those gentlemen, articles of trade; and assured them, that if I received those articles, I should soon be in a situation to procure them nine hundred thousand pounds of white rice, and three thousand oxen; and that it was of the greatest importance to the service, that they should send me two galliots for the exportation and importation of rice and merchandize from the chief to the out-settlements, as well as to carry my detachments, which had hitherto been obliged to repair to the place of their destination by land, across marshes, which had greatly contributed to their destruction. To these demands, I added that of a reimbursement of the sum of ninety-six thousand one hundred and sixty-six livres, which I had myself advanced to the treasury of Madagascar, upon the requisition of the officers of the administration; which sum had been employed in purchasing various kinds of merchandize, with eatables, drink, and medicines, of which the general magazine was entirely destitute: and, lastly, I observed to Mr. De Ternay, that the deplorable situation of my troops scarcely permitted them to perform the ordinary services; for which reason I requested him to order me a supply of men, and to permit the officer, whom I sent directly for that purpose to the isle of France, to raise soldiers, workmen, and engage with such inhabitants as might be willing to come with them.

July, 1774. The Grand Bourbon set sail, and I saw her depart with the hope, that my pressing representations would impel the gentlemen in the administration of the isle of France, to take those measures which were indispensably necessary, in so urgent and grievous a situation as ours; and that I should in a short time see the supplies arrive, which had been so often promised. But a determination had been made to abandon the establishment, as will be shortly seen.

The same day I sent his majesty's brig the Postillion to Foul Point; and gave precise orders to the Sieur Saunier, commander of this vessel, to bring all the private vessels he might find in the harbours of St. Mary and Foul Point, and to make the most accurate enquiries into the conduct of individuals.

Our state of extreme weakness inspired several chiefs, who were debauched by the Seclaves, with the design to break their oath of friendship and attachment. But I was happily advised of this by the other chiefs, who were greatly attached to my person; and notwithstanding the weak state of my people, they behaved with so much firmness, as to break the measures of these treacherous chiefs, whom during the night they forced in a camp they had established in a wood, and completely routed them.

Mr. De Marigni, my major, whose former services had merited the Cross of St. Louis, and who had always seconded me in my operations, was at this time attacked with the disorder of the country. His illness became every day worse; and I had the more reason to be apprehensive for the safety of this brave officer, as he had exhausted himself by continual exertions. My son likewise was attacked. While I was thus oppressed with the mortifying reflections, into which their unhappy situation threw me, I received information, that two workmen, the one a carpenter, and the other an armourer, had deserted; and that they had been seen in the boat of the Grand Bourbon, before she set sail. I immediately sent to search that vessel, but they were so well concealed, that it was impossible to find them. Justly irritated by the vile proceeding of the Captain of this vessel, who though in his majesty's service, had dared to deprive this infant establishment of such necessary workmen, (as I was by his means without an armourer, and incapable of carrying on the works) I immediately gave advice to the chiefs of the isle of

ance, and determined to inform the minister of this proceeding by the earliest opportunity.

My health, which had been unsettled for a long time, now began for some days to experience the most dreadful attacks. My only son Charles Maurice Louis Augustus, Baron de Benyowsky, died of the country disorder on the 11th of this month, at seven in the morning, to my extreme regret; and on the 12th, Mr. De Marigni, my major, for whose life I had been so greatly apprehensive, died at ten in the morning. He was equally lamented by myself, and all the officers of my corps. My fever became every day more violent, and forced me at last, to repair to the Plain of Health. The palisade of Louisbourg being constructed of slight wood, and being too extensive to be guarded by the few remaining hands, I had built a fort, which I named Fort Louis. It was constructed of the best wood of the country, with a triple palisade, strengthened without by a sloping of turf, and having a very solid banquette, which favoured the fire of our murdering pieces. It was besides fortified by advanced works. I left the command of this fort to Mr. De Vienne, First Lieutenant, with fifty-six men, and subaltern officers, and directed my course towards the Plain of Health, with thirty convalescents; where I arrived on the 20th of the month, and established a market for the purchase of rice, cattle, and wood; all which took place according to my desire. In a few days I began to recover, as did likewise several of the volunteers, though lodged in huts, made after the manner of the country, and not sufficiently close to keep out the rain.

On the 23d, I heard by report, that the brigantine Le Bouquinville had set sail. I had purchased of this vessel, for the urgent necessities of the colony, effects amounting to upwards of forty thousand livres, for which I gave my bill to the Captain on the treasury of the isle of France. During the rest of the month I

was employed in causing habitations to be constructed and the ground to be cleared.

August the 5th, 1774, the Seclaves sent deputies to request the establishment of a trade among them; but they refused permission to build fortresses. This request of theirs being contrary to my views, I refused to comply with it.

On the 13th, his majesty's brig the Postillion returned into the harbour, and the Sieur Saunier, the commander, gave me an account, that on passing near St. Mary, he had found the Sieur Savournin trading contrary to the repeated prohibitions which had been communicated to him; and having at last thought proper to speak in degrading terms of the settlement and its origin, he had seized him in the King's name, and brought him to the bay; that he had likewise found the Sieur Oliver making preparations to trade at Foul Point; but that this last had followed him to give an account of his operations, and to justify himself by pleading his ignorance of the prohibition.

The common letter of the chiefs of the isle of France informed me, that having been made acquainted with the pressing wants of the establishment at Madagascar, they had freighted the private vessel La Flore, to convey stores to us. The general good, therefore, required, that this vessel should repair immediately to the chief settlement to unload, and receive in exchange, as the chiefs of the isle of France likewise noticed, a quantity of rice of equal value to the effects she might bring. I was informed on the contrary, from Messrs. Savournin and Fayeuse, Captains, that they had not two tons on board for his majesty's stores in that island; that the vessel was not freighted on account of his majesty, and that on the contrary, a written bargain had been concluded with Mr. Maillart, that they should go to Fort Dauphin, and remain there to take in supplies for the isle of France; and in consequence that he could not

take in rice, notwithstanding my summons for him to take in his loading.

Justly surprized at the proceedings of the administrators of the isle of France, who by this conduct gave me reason to believe, that they were laying a snare for me, I forbad the Sieur Savournin, in his majesty's name, to trade to the Southward, upon which he proposed to pay annually to the King, the sum of one hundred thousand livres, for the exclusive right of trading from the point of the bay to Foul Point. This proposition having appeared to me to be advantageous, and for the good of the service, I executed an act agreeably to these conditions.

On the 15th, the natives of Navan, headed by the robber Siloulout, came in the night to the number of about two hundred men, with the intention of robbing the rice grounds; but having been surprised by the sentinel they fled. The following day I sent an interpreter to them, to advise them to live in peace with us; and not to repeat any such attempts, if they wished to avoid exposing themselves to my just vengeance. They answered my interpreter with their muskets, and three of the workmen who accompanied him were slain, and six wounded. Upon receiving this account, I sent a detachment of thirty-six volunteers, commanded by proper officers, with orders to attack them in the night, and put all the blacks of Navan to the sword. But the chiefs attached to my party, not thinking it proper that I should employ whites, took charge of the expedition, which they set about with seven hundred men, well armed. To support them, I ordered Captain De Sanglier to follow them with a detachment. During these transactions, the Sieur Oliver, who had fully justified himself, and whom I had forbidden to trade in any of the offices of the establishment, perceiving that his voyage would be very chargeable, if he was forced to carry his cargo back to the isle of France, and being

likewise acquainted with our pressing necessities, occasioned by the want of supplies, proposed to sell his vessel to the King, with thirty-four blacks, and some effects, which I gave orders for the purchase of, upon the valuations which were made by the storekeepers, and others employed in this service, namely:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| The vessel | - - | 30,000 livres. |
| The slaves | - - | 10,200 |
| The effects | - - | 1,600 |
| | | 41,800 |

On the 21st, the Sieur Savournin, and the Surgeon-major, having informed me, that there were several men on board the vessel attacked with a contagious disorder, I gave orders for them to be conveyed to the isle D'Aiguillon, to perform quarantine. This illness proved to be the smallpox.

On the 23d, the Chevalier Sanglier, Captain commanding the detachment I had sent against the blacks of Navan, returned to Louisbourg, and informed me, that the boat which carried his troops having been overset, had retarded his operations; but that notwithstanding this accident, the troops of the allied chiefs had succeeded in forcing their principal village, according to my orders, though it was well defended by forts, palisades, and deep ditches; and that the nest of these robbers had become the prey of the flames.

The following day, several chiefs of various provinces, declared in their Cabar, that they would on this account, consider the Navans as traitors and perjured men; in consequence of which, they declared them slaves. The latter, on hearing this news, took refuge in the Northern parts of the island.

On the 2d of September, perceiving that my situation became daily more critical, and being continually harrassed by the intrigues of the chiefs of the isle of France,

who sent emissaries to Madagascar to prejudice the natives against me; and having every reason to fear, that our weak situation might encourage them in the design they had long taken up of exterminating us, I thought it of the greatest consequence to obtain from our allies a supply of men to defend us in case of need. I therefore stipulated with them, that they should constantly keep up a force of one thousand two hundred armed men.

This nation have a custom equally cruel and strange, which they have observed from time immemorial. Any child who is born with natural defects, or even on certain days, which they consider as unlucky, is sacrificed at its birth. Most commonly they drown them; and I had an opportunity of being a witness to this cruel custom, in descending the river in my way to the plain at Louisbourg. It happened fortunately, that on the day of my departure I had an opportunity of saving the lives of three of these unfortunate children, which they were carrying with the intention of drowning. I caused them to be conveyed to Fort Louis; and having given directions for summoning a grand Cabar, I caused all the chiefs to enter into an oath, that they would not in future practise any such act of cruelty. I considered this as the happiest day of my life, from the abolition of this execrable custom, which was the effect either of religion, or some very detestable prejudice.

On the 4th, I was advised by one of the chiefs of Antambon, that the chiefs Mahertom, Roboet, Campan, and Saphirobay, had entered into a combination to assassinate me. I immediately sent an interpreter to these chiefs, to enquire into their intentions. Mahertom denied that he had entered into the conspiracy, but Raboet, having avowed that he was the eighth person who took the oath, the blacks could with difficulty restrain themselves from rushing on him, and putting him to death.

On the 5th, Fort Augustus, which I had caused to be constructed on the mountain of the plain I before spoke of, being finished, I sent sixteen men to guard it, until further orders from the Court; and I distributed among them six pieces of ground in the environs, for the commencement of a vigorous cultivation.

On the 7th, upon the report of the commanding officer, that very considerable thefts had been made out of the royal magazines, of which the storekeeper had not given any account, I caused the latter to be arrested, and proceeded to interrogate two persons of the name of Picard and Julien, who had been accused of selling the stores to the natives. The result of this proceeding evinced, that these two men, who by the negligence of the storekeeper had almost the entire management of the effects, had appropriated a considerable part to their own use. They were thereupon sent off, namely, Julien to France in the Postillion, and Picard to the isle of France, with information of the proceedings against them; and the effects which were found in the hands of these two criminals were returned to the storekeeper.

On the 8th, the Seclaves came to sell two hundred and fifty oxen, which I was very ready to purchase, as I was convinced of the great advantage of carrying on a reciprocal commerce between the settlement and that rich province.

On the 12th, Deputies arrived from Hyavi, grand chief of Foul Point, with one hundred and twenty armed men, who informed me, that the object of their coming was to support me against the Saphirobay, who had entered into a secret alliance with the blacks of the Southern part of the island. They informed me, that their small party would be reinforced by a much more considerable number. The Saphirobay being informed of this proceeding, prepared to abandon their country; but when my interpreters informed them, that their pardon depended only on their repentance, and the

confirmation of the oath which I had required of them, to discontinue the horrible custom of destroying their new born infants, in the cases beforementioned, they all repaired to Louisbourg on the 13th, with their wives, who, being convinced by my reasoning, entered with the greatest satisfaction into the oath of never sacrificing their infants in future, as they had formerly been accustomed to do. Such an interesting engagement was naturally succeeded by a grand entertainment; and I thought it becoming the honour of the nation to contribute to it, for which reason I gave orders for the distribution of brandy and other presents.

On the 14th, several chiefs of St. Mary and other allied provinces, sent deputies, with near six hundred men, to warn me, that the Saphirobai were troublesome and treacherous people; and that, notwithstanding their repeated oaths, they continued to engage the Southern provinces in their party to exterminate us; and that they came with their forces to support me against them. The position in which I found myself after this advertisement, led me to the following reflections: I was but too well acquainted with the treacherous disposition of the Saphirobai; and their punishment would be merely an act of justice: but in making war upon them, I exposed my men, who are of such value in this country; besides which, in destroying this nation, I should put an end to the cultivation of the ground; and the indisposition of the isle of France, or rather of its chiefs, gave me the greatest reason to fear, that we should not long receive from them even the most indispensable supplies. It would therefore be evidently a great disadvantage to the establishment, to drive away a people, who being furnished with the most essential articles of subsistence and trade, were the only support upon which I could depend. From these reflections I thought it of the greatest advantage to gain the Southern provinces by presents, to restrain the Saphirobai by flattering

promises; and to engage the Sambarives to come and take possession of the lands of the Saphirobai, in case the latter should force me by their treachery, to drive them out of their province.

On the 15th, I convened a general assembly, where the oaths of fidelity were renewed; and it was at the same time agreed, that every chief who hereafter should hold a secret meeting, should be driven from his village, his lands should be confiscated to the establishment, and his family reduced to slavery. That all those who should not assist the establishment in case of an attack, should lose their lands, and that the Saphirobai should pay twenty oxen as a satisfaction, which was immediately done.

At the end of the Cabar, all the women of several provinces appeared, who were desirous of renewing, and causing the chiefs to renew the oath, that they should never destroy their children, upon any pretence whatsoever, and they strongly intreated me to send for my spouse, who on account of her ill health, had been obliged to go to the isle of France for the change; in order, as they said, to deposit in her hands an oath, which in the nature of things, regarded women more particularly, since it tended to the preservation of their immediate offspring. They assured me, that their demands being conformable to their laws, they hoped soon to see my spouse. This request appeared to me so natural, and so conformable to the views which I had proposed of gaining their confidence, that I began to think very seriously of sending for Madame Benyowsky, even at the risk of her health.

On the 19th, I sent the interpreter Descotti to the Sambarives, to engage that great province to attach themselves entirely to us; and I returned to the plain, where nothing remarkable had happened since my departure.

On the 20th, a private vessel, named the Belle Artier,

commanded by the Sieur Auger, arrived in the harbour, with an order from Mr. Maillart, for three hundred thousand pounds of white rice, for the subsistence of the Isle of France; but having learned from the Captain, that this rice was on his own account, and that he had purchased it of Mr. Maillart, at the rate of sixteen livres the hundred weight, with the intention of carrying it for sale to the Cape of Good Hope, I refused to deliver it to him, as I could sell it for twenty-two on the spot; and as the Sieur Auger begged me to give him the value in slaves, I agreed very willingly, because by that means, I should clear myself of my slaves, of whom I had a number in a situation where they could easily desert.

By the same vessel I received a letter from Messrs. De Ternay and Maillart, in which I saw with the greatest pleasure, that those gentlemen had sent to Madagascar a store-keeper, and people to be employed in the administration, together with the Sieur Des Assisses, to perform the office of supercargo; and that the latter was coming in the vessel La Belle Poule, which was expected to arrive very soon at Louisbourg with stores. I therefore gave orders for making an inventory, in the presence of the Sieur Aumon, store-keeper, and his people, of all the effects in the King's magazines, and directed that they should be put into his hands.

The day after the arrival of these new officers, I was informed, that, not content with the common women, the young men had entered into all the huts of the blacks, and attempted, sword in hand, to force the husbands to abandon their wives to them. The complaints which at the same time were brought by the chiefs of the Saphirobai, having justified this report, I sent a guard to search for these people, who arrested them, and they were thrown into prison.

But as our new surgeons were among them, and these were absolutely necessary for the service of the hospitals,

I was obliged to set them at liberty, as well as the clerks of the administration, who had fallen into the same imprudent behaviour; and from whose misconduct I had great reason to fear, that some abuses would take place in the store-houses, particularly in the account of receipts and disbursements. But as Mr. Maillart in his last letter, had conjured me to place entire confidence in the persons he had nominated, I agreed to his demand, though I could not but be convinced, that the choice he had before made at first of a supercargo, had been attended with considerable loss of the King's stores.

On the 24th, I put my packets for the Court into the hands of the Sieur Saunier, Commander of his Majesty's brig the Postillion, with my instructions, and twenty-five blacks, addressed to the Sieur Percheron, agent of the islands of France and Bourbon, to be remitted to the Sieur Auger at the Cape, in payment of the three hundred thousand pounds of rice,* and he set sail for France the next day.

On the 28th, in consequence of the packets I received from the Sieur La Boulaye, officer in my corps, whom I had sent to the isle of France to raise men, which were wanting in the establishment; by which I understood, that he had succeeded after many difficulties, in engaging several workmen, and that he waited only for a favourable opportunity of forwarding them to Madagascar. I judged it of the greatest importance to hasten their passage; for which purpose I dispatched his Majesty's vessel La Coureur, commanded by the Sieur Desmousseaux, officer of the blue, in whose hands I put dispatches for Messrs. De Ternay and Maillart; in which I informed the latter of the behaviour of the clerks he had sent, and strongly pressed Mr. De Terney for a supply of men to reinforce my troops, in order that I might

* After the word rice (ris) in the MS. follow the words *Je le cherchai en meme temps des eſclaves portes No.* 16, which I have not attempted to translate. W. N.

be able to carry my establishments into the country of the Seclaves.

On the 30th, a private brig, La Flore, commanded by the Sieur Fayeuse, sailed out of the harbour with one hundred and sixty million pounds of rice, which he had received in exchange for sea salt, which was placed in his Majesty's store-house.

On the 1st of October, 1774, the interpreter whom I had sent to Manahar, sent information, that he had succeeded very well in the mission I had intrusted to his care; that the Sambarives had nothing more at heart than to secure our friendship; that they were ready to quit their mountains to come and inhabit the lands of the Saphirobai, where they could supply the establishment with four thousand men in time of war. But that as the interpreter had not spoken to them but in his own name, pursuant to my orders, they were then about to send several of their chiefs as deputies to me, to conclude this affair, of such great importance to themselves, since it secured them my friendship, and placed them under my safeguard. I was greatly pleased with this good news, as I found myself by that means in a situation to support a war against the Saphirobai, which was almost inevitable; and I immediately established a post with that friendly nation, to secure their attachment.

On the 2d, I repaired to the plain, where I knew that Messrs. Mayeur and Corbi, whom I had sent upon discoveries to the Westward, were to make their rendezvous. As I ascended the river, I received great satisfaction in seeing several places lined with inhabitants, who made repeated discharges of their musquets, and cried out in their language, Long live our father.

On my arrival at the plain, I learned from the Sieurs Corbi and Mayeur, that in passing through the interior parts of the island, which was extremely rich in oxen, cotton, ebony, and gum guttæ, they had found all the

inhabitants very much disposed to join my interests; but that the knowledge they had of the small number of my forces, did not permit them to turn their backs on the Arabians, who had long frequented their coast, and had acquired a certain empire over them, as well by the quantity of merchandize they brought, as by the forces they could oppose against them. But that they waited, in order to unite with me, only for the moment in which they could face the Arabs.

Upon this report, I should have been desirous of making a new expedition into the country, more especially as these two officers added, that the road of communication required only a common share of labour, to make it practicable by land: But the want of assistance on the part of the isle of France, obliged me to suspend this important operation. The Sieurs Mayeur and Corbi had purchased eight hundred oxen, in the two or three days journey they had made.

On the 7th, in consequence of the arrival of his Majesty's frigate the Belle Poule, commanded by the Chevalier Grenier, I left the plain and returned to Louisbourg. On my arrival at Mahetompe, I learned from Mr. Sanglier, Commandant in my absence, that Mr. Des Assisses, the supercargo, had arrived in the Belle Poule, with the assistants. I immediately repaired to Louisbourg to receive him in his quality of supercargo, and the Sieur Aumont, as storekeeper.

The packets of Messrs. De Ternay and Maillart informed me, that the Sieur Des Assisses had received from the treasury of the island, a sum more than sufficient to answer the appointments of my corps for a year. I therefore required pay for my troop for six months; but instead of satisfying my demand, he replied, that he had not only received no sum at the isle of France, but on the contrary had advanced out of his own pocket, sums for the purchase of the most necessary articles for the establishment. I therefore

again adopted the expedient of applying to the purses of my friends to replenish the treasury, upon the demand of the supercargo and treasurer, with a sum which might pay the troops for the six months which were due.

Some days after his arrival, the Sieur Des Assisses convened several chiefs unknown to me, to whom he delivered a cask of brandy, and assured them that he was come to support them against me, in case I should do them any injury; and that they might from thenceforth consider him as their protector, because he was come to Madagascar for that purpose, and to superintend my conduct. This criminal proceeding in a person subordinate to me, was doubtless deserving of exemplary punishment; but, as the transaction related to myself personally, I was content with reprimanding him in a very serious manner, on his absurd conduct. He appeared to be affected with my remonstrances. But a few days afterwards, I had reason to be convinced that he was, in more than one respect, the creature of Mr. Maillart.

The continual chagrin and disquiet which I suffered, destroyed my health, and reduced me to such an extremity, that the surgeons despaired of my life. In the height of my illness, the Sieur Des Assisses requested my officers to meet at his habitation; and on their refusal, he waited upon them, and declared that he had particular orders from Mr. Maillart to seize all my effects and papers, in case my life was in danger; and that in consequence of the evident danger in which I then was, he requested them to assist him in carrying his orders into effect. The reply of my officers consisted of a threat of vengeance, if he should ever dare in future to make such a proposal to them. At the moment, however, in which the Sieur Des Assisses condemned me to death, a favourable crisis dissipated my disorder, by a spontaneous evacuation of bile, and

placed me entirely out of danger. Great indeed was my surprise, when my officers came to express their joy on my convalescence; and when I heard at the same time, from their report, of the conduct which this chief storekeeper had adopted with respect to me, I immediately sent for him, and reproached him for his conduct. Confounded as he was at the disclosure of his proceedings, he avowed, in the presence of my officers, that all which he had hitherto done, had been founded on particular instructions of Mr. Maillart. He at the same time put into my hands these instructions, which might more properly be called a defamatory libel, of which I immediately sent a copy to the Minister, addressing my packet to him by the Chevalier Grenier, Commander of his Majesty's frigate the Belle Poule.

On the 20th, the Sieur Des Assisses requested me to sign a verbal process, declaring, that several considerable thefts had been committed in his Majesty's storehouses; and in particular, that seventeen casks of wine had leaked out since his arrival. I contented myself with replying, that I did not know what it was to affix my signature as authority for misconduct; that I was by no means ignorant of the exorbitant consumption of wine by himself and his people, while my officers could not have a single bottle; and that with regard to the effects which had been stolen, I was well informed of his conduct with the women, and that he was too well acquainted with the thieves to think of forwarding any proceedings against them. This reply confounded him, and obliged him to retire without attempting to make any answer.

This misconduct on the part of administration was so much the more infamous, not only because the magazines suffered, but as the articles of trade cost these gentlemen nothing more than the trouble of drawing out a verbal process, they every day purchased articles at an exorbitant price; insomuch that it became necessary to

pay three livres for articles, which before their arrival might have been had for ten sols. I therefore gave orders, that all the provisions which the blacks were desirous of selling, should be exposed in the market; and at the same time forbad the purchase of them at a higher rate than the price settled at the preceding Cabars.

The Sieur Des Assisses, notwithstanding this new prohibition, which was so conformable to sound policy, was the first to infringe it, by directing all the provisions which the blacks brought to the Bazar, to be conveyed to him; but the officer of the guard did his duty, and the Sieur Des Assisses was punished, by the confiscation of what he had purchased.

We were still but weakly fortified, and the houses which had been constructed according to the manner of the country, began to decay. I thought it necessary therefore to work, both on the fortifications and on the construction of other habitations. I caused to be drawn up, or rather I drew up myself a plan for the construction of a fort; a house for the Governor, built with boards, and one hundred and thirty log-houses. I was not a little surprised to hear the Sieur Des Assisses, animated by the disposition of Mr. Maillart, openly exclaim against these indispensable labours. He asserted, that he knew no chief but Mr. Maillart; and that his orders were contrary to these augmentations. He not only expressed his desire, that they should not take place, but threatened likewise, that he would inform the blacks that he would not pay any of them who might be employed. This absurd behaviour extorted no other emotion but compassion; and as from that moment I considered this intendant as a designing person, though incapable of executing a project so badly conceived, I caused several chiefs to be assembled, in order to propose this enterprize to them, being determined to apply again to the purses of my friends,

to pay their salaries, in case the Sieur Des Assisses persevered in his refusal to pay them. Their reply confirmed me in the opinion I had conceived of that gentleman. They all asserted, that they would not work, because the Sieur Des Assisses had assured them, that I had only a very short time to remain at Madagascar; but that he would not pay them if they worked for the establishment by my orders. I dismissed this weak set of men immediately with indignation.

Such was the execution of the brilliant promises of the Intendant of the isle of France, even by a man whom he had nominated his sub-delegate. My troops were exhausted by continual labour and fatigue, and the officers were threatened to be deprived of the fruit of their labour, by the information which the storekeeper gave them, that they should soon be dismissed by a new commander, whom he assured them would be substituted in my place in a short time.

The islanders were thus prejudiced against the establishment, by the public calumnies of those whose duty it was to contribute most to their union. The individuals composing the establishment, being extenuated by continual fatigue, and seeing themselves abandoned and betrayed at every step they took; the troops in want of cloathing, badly lodged, and very imperfectly fortified.—Such was our most critical situation; and the more especially it was to be regretted, as it was the work of persons charged with orders to give every possible assistance to an establishment which was founded on the most extensive views.

On the 2d of November, the Sieur Des Assisses, constantly animated by the spirit of Mr. Maillart, assembled at his house all the clerks and people employed in the administration, and in their presence drew out a verbal process, importing, that the particular instructions of the Intendant of the isle of France, which he had through fear put into my hands,

were written by himself, and that Mr. Maillart had no share in them; but that circumstances having obliged him to draw out this false piece, he avowed its want of foundation. I was immediately informed of this vile proceeding, and went without delay to the rascal, with my Major; and having ordered him to communicate his papers, the original of the private instructions, signed by Mr. Maillart, was found, and admitted by the impostor.

The rest of the month was employed in such works as the volunteers of my corps were capable of, and in which the convalescents were so zealous as to join us. The other absurd circumstances of the conduct of Messrs. Des Assisses and his people, which were always founded on the particular and verbal instructions of Mr. Maillart, being only a repetition of those with which he had begun on his first landing, I think it unnecessary to repeat them, but shall only observe, that in order to excite the islanders to work who were disgusted by the pernicious conversation of the principal store-keeper, I employed my own black domestics, and those whom I employed in my house, as I chose rather to deprive myself of their personal services, than omit any occasion of contributing to the good of the establishment.

The first part of the month of December was employed in the usual works; but on the 11th, I saw with the greatest satisfaction, the arrival of his Majesty's brig Le Coureur, with my spouse, whose presence was so necessary for the abolishment of the cruel custom of destroying of the children born on days which were reckoned unlucky, or which were in some respects imperfect. The same vessel brought the Sieur de la Boullaye, whom I had sent to the isle of France, on the urgent business of the colony, with orders to engage, with the consent of Mr. De Ternay, the proper workmen to forward the buildings, which we could not dispense with.

He informed me, that he had brought with him thirteen workmen, six soldiers, and two passengers, in the number of which was the Marquis D'Albergotti De Vezas, Chevalier of St. Louis, and ancient Captain of infantry, who came to offer his services; which, however, I could not accept without having received the consent of the Minister. His long standing in the service, and his misfortunes, which had so much resemblance to my own situation, attached me to this officer, to whom I offered a lodging and my table, which he accepted.

On the 13th, the women of several provinces, being informed of the arrival of my spouse, came to take the oath before her, that they would never sacrifice any child hereafter to their criminal customs; and it was further agreed, that those who should break their oath, should be made slaves, and exported out of the country; and that the children which were born with any defect, which, according to their customs, might have formerly been the cause of putting them to death, should in future be sent to the establishment, to be brought up at our charge, without its being in the power of the parents to reclaim them.

This oath was succeeded by a festival, in testimony of the general satisfaction.

After terminating this business so important to the establishment, and so advantageous to humanity, I directed my views to the perfect knowledge of the Northern coast of the island; in consequence of which, I sent the Sieur Mayeur, with eighty armed blacks to support him in his march, with orders to go in the Periagua, and examine all the harbours, bays, and rivers on that coast, and engage the principal chiefs of the provinces in our interests; at the same time that he should excite them by presents, if necessary, to take part against the Seclaves, whose enemies I knew they had always been; and to finish his mission, by acquiring an accurate knowledge of the island Nossebe;

after which he was directed to return by land to Louisbourg, to give an account of his observations.

At the same time I gave orders to part of my troops to proceed upon discovery of the rivers and plains, which were in the vicinity of the chief settlement; and directed the Sieur Garaut de Beaupreau, chief engineer of the island, to embark in his Majesty's brig Le Coureur, to make a plan of the Southern coast, as far as Fort Dauphin. I likewise sent three Periaguas to sound the Bay of Antongil, both on the Eastern and Western shores.

On the 19th, perceiving that the Sieur Des Assisses, the principal store-keeper, persisted in not lending any assistance in the works essential to the establishment, and that he persevered in exciting the province of the Saphirobai against me, to the chiefs of which he had insinuated, that by declaring themselves against me, they would do a thing very agreeable to the government of the isle of France, I thought it necessary, at last, to take an effectual resolution. In consequence of which, I assembled the officers of the corps to explain to them our circumstances, and the conduct of the Sieur Des Assisses, and requested their advice respecting what they might think proper to be done in the case. Their opinion was agreeable to my own: I therefore gave orders to put him under an arrest, which was done the same hour. But as it was necessary, in the mean time, to keep up a regular account, I nominated Mr. Aumont to supply his place.

The report of the disgrace of the principal store-keeper, destroyed the hopes of the Saphirobai chiefs; and they came to the number of seven, on the 21st, with six hundred workmen, to be employed in the works I had determined to construct. These chiefs engaged besides with me, to supply the settlement with six thousand pieces of wood, and four thousand madriers, or planks. This prospect of the return of the islanders

to our interest, tended greatly to dissipate my apprehensions.

On the 24th, the two detachments which I had sent upon discovery, returned from their expeditions; and the officers in command gave me an exact account in the form of an itinerary, or journal, from which I was assured, that this immense country abounded with the most beautiful plains, watered with rivers; and that colonists only were wanting to turn them to the greatest advantage. Sugar, cotton, indigo, coffee, tobacco, and all other productions, were found in abundance.

On the 22d, the brig Le Coureur being ready to set sail, I gave orders to the Sieur Desmousseaux, with an interpreter and a detachment, to embark, to make discoveries on the Southern part of the island. The same day I sent Mr. Perthuis, Lieutenant, with Mr. Rosiere, and a detachment of six soldiers, and one hundred and eighty armed natives of the country, to make the same expedition by land.

The latter days of this year offered nothing remarkable; the whole corps was employed in the works, which I had distributed among them in several gangs.

On the 29th, the Surgeon Major informed me, that the Sieur Des Assisses, by his irregular conduct, had contracted a disorder, which his advanced age ought to have secured him from. Being actuated by compassion for his situation, I sent Mr. De Sanglier to him, to exhort him to a more regular conduct; and at the same time I offered to re-establish him in his charge, on condition that he should declare publicly, and in a Cabar of the natives of the country, which I would convene for that purpose, that all which he had said and done, was by the direction of a party in the isle of France, whose government was jealous of the flourishing state to which Madagascar would arrive under my conduct; and that he had followed this mode of proceeding, only to gain the

favour of Mr. Maillart, who was exceedingly jealous of every good office which could be performed in favour of Madagascar.

On the return of Mr. De Sanglier, I was surprised to hear that Mr. Des Assisses had accepted my proposition; and that he was truly sorry for every thing that he had done, contrary to my intentions; and lastly, that he would accept his charge, and promised to conduct himself in future with moderation. The voluntary return of so dangerous a person, gave me great satisfaction; and I immediately sent him an order to continue in the service. This domestic pacification was not, however, sufficient to calm my apprehensions, as the afflicting view of the state of the establishment, persecuted by the isle of France, and abandoned by Europe, continually presented itself to my mind.

January the 1st, 1775. Having convened the Saphirobai chiefs, the submission of the principal Intendant was made before them; and I had the satisfaction to see, that many of the chiefs looked on him with contempt. At the breaking up of the Cabar, the chief Raoul asked to speak with me in secret; and informed me, that the Cimanongou chief of the Seclaves, of the province of Antongin, had joined with the King of Bojana to declare war against me; that this chief Cimanongou had sent envoys to the Saphirobai, to invite them to join him against the establishment; and that several of them were disposed to accede to his proposition, though others were determined to adhere to their resolution of keeping their engagements with me.

This important advice required precaution on my part, for it was certain that the Seclaves were able to bring an army into the field of forty thousand fighting men. But as it would have been dangerous to have shewn my apprehensions, I dissembled, and caused the public works to be carried on with greater spirit.

On the 7th, I received letters from the Sieur Mayeur, dated from Angontzi, in which he gave me an advantageous description of that province. Its rich productions and abundance of cattle, surpassed my expectation; for which reason I determined, notwithstanding my apprehensions of the Seclaves, to send a detachment to establish posts. The details which Mr. Mayeur gave me of the disposition of the chiefs of this province, led me to hope, that I might engage them to assist me in case of need. Mr. Mayeur informed me in his letter, that he durst not venture to continue his progress without reinforcements. I therefore gave immediate orders to Serjeant Longueteau, to follow him with two hundred and fifty armed natives; and to remain subject to his orders. The following days were employed on the fortifications, and filling up the quay, which I had raised upon the shore within the bay.

On the 12th, I received deputies from the Sambarives and Antimaroa, who offered me five thousand men, to support a war against the the Seclaves.

On the 28th, about midnight, I was alarmed at hearing three shot fired on the banks of the river. I gave immediate orders to the picquet guard to repair to the spot, but the detachment returned without having made any discovery. This alarm produced no other consequence, than that of affrighting Mr. Des Assisses, the intendant, who ran intirely naked into the fort. This day I received information, that the navigation of the boats, coming down the river of Tingballe, and from Ranoumena, had become dangerous, on account of the different ambuscades, which the ill disposed natives had placed to fire on them. I gave orders, therefore, to open a communication by land, and for this work I engaged the Rohandrian Sance to send me four thousand men.

From the 19th to the 28th, the settlement was employed on making the above mentioned communication by land.

On the 30th, I received an account from the posts of Foul Point, Massoualla, Mananhar, Tamatava, and Angontzi, that articles of trade were abundant, but that the store-houses were empty. This information induced me to purchase the entire cargo of the brig La Jollie Bourbonoise, amounting to sixty-eight thousand livres, which I disbursed out of my own pocket upon the treasurer's receipt. The same day I received letters from the administrators of the isle of France, which tended to convince me of the intrigues and cabals which they employed, to deprive me of the confidence of the Minister, and to excite the enmity of the natives against me. I received more certain information on this subject from the Marquis D'Albergotti, ancient Captain in the service of France, who was persecuted by the government of the isle of France, and had retired to Madagascar under my protection.

February the 1st. I received information, that Mahertomp, a chief established near our principal settlement, had engaged with the Seclaves to assassinate me. As soon as I was assured of this by sufficient evidence, I went to him unexpectedly with several chiefs, to remonstrate with him on his treachery. He acknowledged his crime, and intreated forgiveness for having failed in his engagements; but his subjects declared, that they would not have any further concern with so perfidious a man. So that he was proscribed, and banished by his own people.

On the 2d, Mr. Corbi, one of my most confidential officers, in concert with the interpreter, informed me, that the old negress, Susanna, whom I had brought from the isle of France, and who in her early youth had been sold to the French, and had lived upwards of fifty years at the isle of France, had reported, that her companion the daughter of Rohandrian Ampansacabé Ramini Larizon, having likewise been made prisoner, was sold to the foreigners; and that she had certain marks that

I was her son. This officer represented likewise to me, that in consequence of her report, the Sambarive nation had held several Cabars, to declare me the heir of Ramini, and, consequently, proprietor of the province of Mananhar, and successor to the title of Ampansacabé, or supreme chief of the nation; a title which since the death of Ramini Larizon, had been extinct.

This information appeared to me of the greatest consequence; and I determined to take the advantage of it, to conduct that brave and generous nation to a civilized state, and the establishment of a solid and permanent government. Its situation, its population, the fertility and excellency of its soil and climate, with a variety of other circumstances, conspired to induce me to lay a foundation for the establishment of a power, founded upon national liberty. But as I had no person to whom I could intrust the secret of my mind, I lamented to myself at the reflection how blind the Minister of Versailles was to the true interests of France. I therefore contented myself with giving particular instructions to Mr. Corbi, respecting the answers he should make to such of the natives as might question him on this subject. On the same day I interrogated Susanna on the report she had spread concerning my birth. The good old woman threw herself at my knees, and excused herself by confessing, that she had acted intirely upon a conviction of the truth. For she said, that she had known my mother, whose physiognomy resembled mine; and that she had herself been inspired in a dream by the Zahanhar, to publish the secret. Her manner of speaking convinced me, that she really believed what she said; I therefore embraced her, and told her, that I had reasons for keeping the secret respecting my birth; but that, nevertheless, if she had any confidential friends, she might acquaint them with it. At these words she arose, kissed my hands, and declared, that the Sambarive nation was informed of the circumstance,

and that the Rohandrian Raffangour waited only for a favourable moment, to acknowledge the blood of Ramini.

The time from the third to the sixth, was employed in digging a canal of communication between the river and the harbour. This was perfected in four days, though it was fifteen hundred toises in length. But as I employed for this purpose near six thousand natives of the country, the whole was performed with the greatest ease.

On the 7th, the chief Ciewi, of the Sambarive nation, came to present two hundred young men of his nation, to serve me in quality of volunteers. I accepted the offer of this brave people, and gave orders immediately for forming them into a regular company. The officers La Tour, La Boullaye, and Evally, were charged with the discipline of this new troop, of which I appointed the son of Rohandrian Raffangour commander.

On the 8th, Mr. Des Assisses, the intendant, represented to me, that he was desirous of resigning his employment, and retiring to the isle of France. I agreed to his demand with so much the more satisfaction, as he was of no use to me. But as it was necessary that his accounts should be first made up, I allowed him fourteen days for that purpose.

On the 9th, I received an account from an interpreter, of the name of D'Ecolle, that an old man in the province of Mananhar, had spread prophecies concerning a general change of government in the island, and that he had asserted, that the descendant of Ramini would rebuild the town of Palmire. He added, that these predictions had occasioned a tumult among the people, who being informed that the Sambarives had declared me to be a descendant of the line of Ramini, required their chiefs to send an embassy to me, to enquire into the fact; and in case it should prove true, to bring me with them, and assure me of the submission of their province.

From this resolution, the Rohandrians, Anacandrins, and Voadziri, had nominated chiefs, who were immediately to begin their journey by sea.

On the 10th, I made an excursion to the plain, and to fort Augustus, to hasten the works of the fortifications.

On the 11th, Mr. Mayeur, chief interpreter, informed me, that two Saphirobai chiefs had arrived, and demanded an audience. As soon as they were introduced, they declared, that being informed that I had concluded a treaty with the Sambarives, their enemies, they had determined to employ all their powers in preventing the consequences of such an alliance, which, in effect, was an infringement of all the oaths I had entered into with them; and that, in a word, they would rather declare in favour of the Seclaves, than become connected with the Sambarive nation. They ended by representing, that my behaviour to Mahertomp had been violent; and that they had thought it proper to receive him into the Cabar, notwithstanding the sentence against him. Justly irritated at this declaration, I made no other answer, than by an expression of indignation, and commanding them immediately to withdraw.

The same day Raoul Rohandrian of the Saphirobai, who had informed me of the cabals of the Seclaves, came with excuses respecting the proceedings of his nation, at the instigation of old Mahertomp; and assured me, that for his part he was ready to repeat his oath of fidelity and attachment to my person; and he put his son into my hands as a hostage.

After having treated him with the greatest attention, I requested that he would let me know the true reason of the opposition of the Saphirobai chiefs; and he told me, that the ancestors of Mahertomp, and of Rohandrian Onglahe, had been concerned in the massacre of the family of Ramini Larizon, after which they had assumed the Sovereignty of several districts, to the prejudice of the Sambarive nation, who being at that moment assured

that they had found a descendant of the blood of Ramini, reclaimed, as his right, the different districts separated from the provinces of Antimaroa.

Upon this information, I asked, whether his interest were not likewise to declare against the Sambarives; and he replied, that it was not; giving at the same time as a reason, that he was descended from the race of Safe Hibrahim, whose family had settled in the place where he dwelt, under the protection of Ramin Ampansacabé, and that he at present was reckoned of the class of the Saphirobai, only because he was desirous of preserving his possessions. I then questioned him, whether he had any knowledge of the heir of Ramini, whom the Sambarives announced; but as he answered, that he knew not a word on that subject, I thought it unnecessary to question him further; and assured him of the constant friendship which I should always preserve for him and his whole family.

Contented with my declaration, he assured me, that he was desirous of supporting the establishment with all his force. But he intreated me to consider, that in case the establishment should be given up, what would be his situation when exposed alone to the mercy of a body of enraged chiefs, who would not fail to sacrifice him and all his family to their resentment. This reasoning appeared just; and with a view to give him perfect satisfaction, I declared that my only request was, that he would remain neutral.

On the 12th, the engineer who had been employed on the work of the road leading to the plain, and towards Ranoumena, informed me that the whole was finished; and I determined to inspect this work myself the following day. This day I received an account that the Saphirobai had assembled in troops.

On the 13th, I went on horseback from Louisbourg to the plain, where I was astonished to find the road finished in so short a time. It was four toises broad,

six French leagues in length, and had a ditch on each side to carry off the waters. I thought it particularly became me to reward the people who had performed this work; I therefore gave each of them a yard of blue cloth, and a bottle of brandy. To secure the communication of this road, I gave orders immediately to raise a redoubt on the height of Mananbia, on which I built houses for twenty-four men.

From the 14th to the 16th, I was employed visiting the posts dependant on Louisbourg; and I distributed several pieces of ground to the Europeans at the plain of Health, and at the plain of Fort St. John, on the bank of the great river. All these grounds naturally produced sugar, cotton, indigo, tobacco, and Tacamahaca wood.

On the 17th, having returned to Louisbourg, I gave orders for continuing the building, and increasing the town; after which, on the 18th, I embarked in the country boats for Angontzi. This voyage employed eight days, and I took the opportunity of visiting all the chiefs established on the coast, who expressed the most sincere attachment to me. Upon my arrival at Angontzi, I was charmed with the situation which my engineer had chosen to establish the settlement; my wishes on this occasion for an accession of force to take advantage of the gifts which nature so prodigally held out, were great; but, alas, the hour of their accomplishment was not at hand, and it was in vain that the beauty of the situation, the goodness of the soil, together with the mild and affable character of the inhabitants, led me to form projects I was unable to accomplish.

The Rohandrian of Angontzi assembled a Cabar on the 27th, in which I received in person the oath of attachment and alliance of that nation. The rest of the month passed in entertainments, which were given by the chiefs.

## AN IMPORTANT CONVENTION

March the 2d, 1775, having received advice by land, that a number of the deputies of the Southern provinces had repaired to Louisbourg, where they waited for me with impatience; and that the Saphirobai had burnt a village belonging to Manonganon, I determined immediately to return; and as the road by land, though difficult, was the shortest, I determined to go that way. The chief of Angontzi, being informed of my decision, ordered his litter for me, with six hundred armed men for a guard. I seized an instant before my departure, to represent the advantages that would result from a road being made between Angontzi and Louisbourg, he promised six thousand men for this work, provided the people of Antimaroa would supply the same number.

On the 6th, after a rather tedious journey, I arrived at last at Louisbourg, where I was agreeably surprized to find that the marsh at the entrance of the town was intirely filled up. I was indebted for this work to the good will of the same friends who had made the road to the plain. This day I received the reports concerning the different parts of the service of the establishment, with which I was perfectly well satisfied, and convinced that nothing had stood still during my absence. Mr. Sanglier, who had commanded in my absence, likewise informed me, that the deputies of five of the Southern provinces, had demanded a conference in a Cabar; and that there were likewise six private chiefs, who had made the same request. In consequence of this, I ordered preparations to be made for holding a Cabar on the following day.

On the 7th, after having rested myself, I conferred with Messrs. Mayeur and Corbi, respecting the different interests which had induced the deputies and the chiefs to have recourse to me; and after having received the necessary information, I caused the Cabar to be assembled, at which the deputies were admitted one after

the other. The first was from the province of Manan-har; the second from Tamatava; the third from the island of St. Mary; the fourth from Manauzar; and the fifth from Matatava. After the deputies, I received the chiefs; and as their interests were one and the same, I entered into one common oath with them: and when I had made presents to them in return for those they had brought, I dismissed them, because the affairs they were charged with required their speedy return into their respective provinces.

On the 8th, Mr. Gareau de Boispreaux, engineer in chief, proposed to me to erect a light-house on the isle D'Aiguillon, and to erect a flag-staff on the point of land, at the entrance of the river. He likewise requested that the people who had been employed by him before, might continue to serve him. I agreed to his request, and gave him the necessary orders and powers.

On the 9th, having received a visit from the chief Raoul, I proposed to him to employ his subjects in making a road towards Angontzi; and after a long conference, I prevailed on him to promise four thousand men for the service; Manonganon and Mandinque, two other chiefs, promised likewise two thousand men. Being thus assured of sufficient assistance, I gave charge of the work to M. de Boispreaux, the engineer, and his assistant, M. de Rosieres. The plan was made the same day, and M. de Rosieres departed for Angontzi, to begin the operations on that side; while Mr. Gareau de Boispreaux began on the Louisbourg side. This road was not to be of less extent than twenty-eight French leagues.

On the 10th, having learned that the Sieur Des Assisses, before his departure, had taken a large quantity of merchandize out of the store-houses, and had distributed them among the Saphirobai, with a view to excite them to rise against me, I sent Mr.

Certain to them with a declaration, that the said Des Assisses had stolen the effects out of his Majesty's stores, and that I should consider them as confederates in the theft, and act accordingly.

On the 13th, two Saphirobai chiefs arrived, and brought back great part of the merchandize which I had reclaimed; but they declared, that I ought not to attribute their proceeding to fear, but only to their open and honest character. The value of the effects distributed, with a view to destroy the settlement, amounted to more than twenty-three thousand livres; an exorbitant sum, considering that he had refused the sum of fifteen thousand livres for the necessary works, and constructing houses in the town.

On the 15th, a signal was displayed on the mountain Manghabey, on the isle d'Aiguillon, that two vessels of two masts were in sight. They anchored in the harbour at eleven o'clock; the first was a brig of his Majesty's commanded by the Sieur Joubert, Lieutenant of a frigate; and the second was the Coureur, which brought back the engineers I had sent to explore the Southern provinces, and survey the coast.

Captain Joubert, having presented his letter, signed by the Governor of the isle of France, and Mr. De Ternay the Intendant, I perceived that he had been sent merely as a spy upon my operations. For the Captain deposed, that his orders were to bring back to the isle of France, the remains of my troops; and that he had been dispatched upon the report that the natives had assassinated me, and cut off the greatest part of my people, the remainder having taken refuge at Manghabey. The Captain, finding that this story had been invented merely to gratify the chiefs of the isle of France, declared that he was ready to return according to his positive orders so to do, if he found me alive. This proceeding on the part of those whose duty it was to support me, put me out of all patience.

I gave orders to the Captain to depart instantly, as his chiefs had sent him only to insult the establishment.

About two in the evening, a signal was made, that two other vessels were in sight; and at six his Majesty's frigate the Belle Poule, commanded by the Chevalier de Grenier, Lieutenant, anchored in the harbour. The Commander required provisions and stores for his vessel, which I caused to be delivered. This officer testified the most lively regret to find, that the chiefs of the isle of France were so strongly prejudiced against the settlement at Madagascar, and he took charge of my dispatches for the Court of France. I was employed till the 22d, in drawing out my accounts, of which the following is a general statement:

*Sums advanced for the Establishment at Madagascar, 1772 and 1773.*

| | *Livres.* | *s.* | *d.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| For levying the Regiment of Benyowsky, its transport to Madagascar, and the supplies of articles of trade 1774 and 1775, until the 20th of March | 342649 | 12 | 5 |
| Bills of Exchange drawn to the amount of | 113000 | 10 | 3 |
| Total received | 455650 | 2 | 8 |

*Expenditures.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| For the troops during the years 1772, 1773, 1774, 1775 | 141432 | 0 | 0 |
| For the Marine. To his Majesty's vessels the Postillion and Coureur | 396864 | 6 | 4 |

## STATEMENT OF ACCOUNT

FOR THE SETTLEMENT.

| | *Livres.* | *s.* | *d.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Building the Governor's house, roads, canals, fortifications, &c. | 315916 | 11 | 8 |
| Supplies to the isle of France in slaves | 161412 | 0 | 0 |
| Supplies to the isle of France in rice | 84000 | 0 | 0 |
| Provisions to several of his Majesty's vessels | 41423 | 11 | 7 |
| | 1141048 | 12 | 7 |
| Deduct the sums advanced | 455650 | 2 | 8 |
| | 585398 | 9 | 11 |
| And also the sums advanced by myself | 245000 | 0 | 0 |
| * Neat profit produced by the Administration | 340398 | 9 | 11 |

This clear account ought to have produced a good effect on the mind of the Minister. For as it was shewn that no more than the sum of liv. 455650 had been advanced, and that the single object of the maintenance of the troops and vessels at sea, amounted

* This sum, which is the difference between the receipts and disbursements, is not neat profit. The result of the above account is, that the settlement cost the French, liv. 455650 2 8, and liv. 243000, which make together £700650 2 8. This is not equal to the whole charge, or £854212 18. But the settlement paid the difference, £153562 15 4, and also supplied the isle of France, and the King's ships, with £286835 11 7½. This last sum only is the return, and if taken from the whole sum advanced, will leave livres 413814 10, or the loss sustained by the French government, by the effect of this undertaking during the above time. Note of the [first English] editor.

to liv. 538296, he might easily perceive the immense advantages that might in a short time be expected from Madagascar.

On the 23d, the Belle Poule set sail, and on the same day I received advice by a courier from Foul Point, that the Fariavas and Betalimenes, had declared war upon Hyavi, and that hostilities had already commenced. The commanding officer at Foul Point pressed me for orders, whether he should assist Hyavi or not. In consequence of this news, I determined to repair to Foul Point myself, in order to pacify the people.

On the 24th, after giving orders relative to the service at the chief establishment, I established a camp of eighty soldiers and two thousand natives, to secure the settlement against any surprize on the part of the Seclaves, and Saphirobai; and then departed for Foul Point, accompanied by two officers and six hundred warriors of the Sambarive nation. As I passed by Mananhar, I was joined by the troop of Sance, and the people of Antimakol, and found myself at the head of near five thousand armed men.

On the 27th, my army was reinforced by the troop of Ambarante, and I arrived on the 1st of April at Foul Point.

I found the brig Le Coureur already here at anchor, with my artillery and ammunition. This day I established my camp near Tametavi, and in the evening I sent for Hyavi, to enquire of him respecting the cause of the war. As he could give me no good reason, I deferred explaining myself, until I had heard from the other party; to whose camp I sent that very night, to engage the chiefs to come and speak with me.

On the 2d, I received deputies from the Betalimenes, and Fariavas, who declared to me, that the two nations would abide by my decision, in the hopes that I would listen only to the dictates of that justice, which the spirit of God would inspire me with. They then declared,

that Hyavi was the author of the war, by forbidding the Betalimenes and Fariavas to frequent the market at Foul Point; that he had confiscated the cattle, slaves, and provisions of the merchants of their nation, which they had brought for sale to the settlement; and, lastly, that the soldiers of Hyavi had surprized one of their villages, and taken away several young women, whom they had sold to the French merchants.

Being thus informed of the cause of the war, I dismissed the deputies with some presents, after I had promised to settle the whole dispute to their satisfaction, provided they allowed me the necessary time for that purpose. They engaged to do this, and returned to their camp very well satisfied, at having found me disposed in their favour. For Hyavi had spread a report, that I was coming to assist him.

The next step I took was, to invite Hyavi to my quarters, when I reproached him for his conduct, and the licence he had given his subjects to disturb his neighbours. I spoke so urgently to him, that he confessed himself to blame; but at the same time begged I would act in such a manner, as not to degrade him in the eyes of his enemies. I engaged to regulate my proceedings according to his desire, on condition that he should submit to such terms as I should impose, both on him and the Betalimenes and Fariavas. After I had thus obtained the promise of both parties, I gave orders for holding the Cabar on the 3d, to which Hyavi and his chiefs and also the Betalimenes and Fariavas were invited.

On the 2d, at day-break, I put my troops under arms, and ranged them in order of battle. About six, the Betalimenes and Fariavas arrived, to the number of eight or ten thousand armed men; and a short time after came Hyavi with his people; so that the number of men under arms, who were present that day, amounted to near twenty-two thousand. At eight the Cabar

began, and as I was desirous of avoiding all particular debates, I proposed to both parties, to form that day a treaty of alliance and friendship, which I would guarantee, together with the nations of the Sambarives and Saphirobai; and farther I proposed, that they should enter into the following engagements:

1. That trade should in future be free between the three nations, without the reclamation of any particular right, (or impost).

2. That Hyavi should give up, or cause to be given up, the persons who had lately been surprized and carried off by his soldiers; and that for every one of them who could not be found, he should return two of his own subjects.

3. That the Betalimenes and Fariavas, should not in future, receive amongst them any fugitive subjects of Hyavi; and that they should compel all those, who during the last three months had taken refuge amongst them, to return two slaves each for his person.

4. That the Betalimenes, Fariavas, and the subjects of Hyavi, should furnish a sufficient number of workmen to open a road of communication for the general advantage of trade along the coast, from Foul Point to Bohitsmenes.

And in consideration that this last article was one of the most essential for their mutual interests, I declared my intention of appointing several of my officers to superintend the work.

After a continual debate of three hours, which every instant threatened to end in a general engagement, they at last became calm, and agreed to the first article: and with regard to the second and third, they concluded that all past inquiries should be buried in oblivion, without any reclamation being admitted on either side: and that in future, both nations should either give up the fugitives from the other, or at least drive them out of their dominions.

With respect to the fourth article, they agreed to send five thousand men to work on the road proposed to be made. These conditions thus settled, were ratified by an oath, in which the chiefs who came with me joined as witnesses and guarantees. Hyavi then caused fifty oxen to be killed, as did likewise the Betalimenes and Fariavas, and they were cut up and distributed among the troops.

On the 4th, the Betalimenes being desirous of testifying their gratitude, presented my troops with five hundred oxen. The Fariavas did the same, and Hyavi gave five hundred oxen and fifty slaves. The cattle were divided among the followers; but I gave the slaves their liberty, on condition that they should establish themselves near one of my settlements, and pay a tenth of the produce of their lands.

Having thus happily concluded upon a peace to the satisfaction of all parties, I determined to return to Louisbourg; and delayed my departure only till I had received the honours, which the belligerent parties were desirous of shewing me. At the conclusion of the festival, the Fariavas gave my troops forty slaves and two hundred oxen, and Hyavi on his part, gave two thousand piastres.

On the 11th, I arrived happily at Louisbourg, where I found affairs in a good train.

On the 12th, my chief interpreter having informed me of the approaching arrival of envoys from the King of Boyana, at the same time apprized me, that the chiefs of the Saphirobai and Antamboi, had sent deputies to the said envoys, to engage them in their interests against the settlement. I received a farther confirmation of this news from an old woman, a native of the country, who informed me besides, that the Saphirobai had gained the chief of the embassy of the Seclaves by presents; and that the latter had engaged, under the sanction of an oath, to seek means of breaking

off the negociation; and to find sufficient reasons to engage his nation in their party. I was perfectly assured of the truth of this information, from other blacks attached to the settlement, who had been present at the taking of the oath.

Finding myself thus engaged in the most critical situation, I took the resolution of sending the brig La Flore, to the isle of France, to demand a supply of arms and ammunition; and by the same conveyances I sent back my family, with the greatest part of my household, in order to carry on my operations against the Seclaves with the greater activity. The vessel was dispatched without delay to the isle of France, with the Chevalier de Sanglier, Captain in my troop, in order to press the administration of that colony, to forward the necessary supplies with the utmost speed.

On the 21st, the chief Raoul came to me, to request a supply of men, because the Saphirobai chiefs, with the Seclaves, had determined to destroy him, on account of his refusal to enter into the combination against the settlement. The account I received from this chief, of the different preparations the confederates had made to attack the settlement, left me no doubt of the near approach of a war, which there was no means of avoiding. But as I did not expect succours in any short time, and all my force was reduced to the effects which might arise from firmness and courage, I thought it proper still to keep up my hopes.

On the 13th, I went in the night to the Plain of Health, that the enemy might not be informed of my absence; and immediately on my arrival, I put that post into a state of defence. It was guarded by twenty-nine soldiers, and five hundred natives, whom I could depend upon. The command was in the hands of M. de Mallendre, Captain, and M. de la Boullaye, Lieutenant. For a greater security, I caused palisades to be set on that side of the wood, through which the

enemy might make an attack, by passing near the foot of the mountain, sheltered from the cannon of the fort. On the river side, I likewise cut down all the trees and underwood, that the artillery might command as far as Cape de Zasaiche. After having thus put this important fort in a state of defence, I embarked in my boats to return to Louisbourg. As I passed by the territory of Mahertompe, I discovered a camp of the enemy, who fired several shots at my boats; but the distance being too great for them to reach us, I arrived safely at Louisbourg, where I found every thing in good order.

On the 28th, I was informed of the arrival of envoys from the Sambarives of the East and West. They demanded a conference, to the exclusion of other nations; and at the same time assured me, that if I listened favourably to them, and granted them my friendship, they would soon deliver me from all my enemies. Such a proposal could not but be very agreeable to me. I therefore gave orders for making the due preparations for holding our meeting.

On the 20th, the Cabar or assembly was held, at which were present on the part of the settlement, the Count de Benyowsky, Commander; Messrs. Perthuis, De la Boullaye, and Rosier, Lieutenants; Unbanowsky, Engineer; Besse, Interpreter; and on the part of the Sambarives, the Prince Raffangour of that nation. The propositions of the Sambarives were delivered in the following speech.

"The nation of the Sambarives, the people of God, established in the provinces Mananhar and Massoualla, have seen with grief, that the settlement of Louisbourg has entered into treaties of friendship and alliance with other nations, in preference, and to the exclusion of theirs; and that at present, all those nations have united together against their benefactors, and have even invited our people to join with them

against the white men. But as the Sambarives have always walked in the paths of justice, our nation has refused their offers, preferring the friendship of the chief of the white men, to every inducement of relationship or alliance, which might exist between ourselves and his enemies. In consequence of this disposition, the Sambarive nation offer to assist the settlement with five thousand men, to be employed against its enemies; and hope, by this action, that they shall be thought worthy of an alliance, the value of which they are well convinced of."

After having heard this harangue, I replied, that I had always been desirous of their alliance, but that the remoteness of their province had not hitherto permitted me to treat with them directly. I assured them, that the offer of supplies inspired me with an high opinion of their sentiments; and that I should accept this mark of friendship with the greatest pleasure, as it would justify the unbounded confidence I was determined to place in the Sambarive nation, respectable for the blood of Ramini.

The envoys then consulted together for a short time, and agreed to enter into the usual oath of allegiance. The rest of the day was employed in rejoicing; and in the evening my interpreter informed me, that the Sambarives had disappeared. This news gave me some concern; because as the oath of alliance had been taken, they ought to have apprized me of their departure.

June the 1st, 1775. At four in the morning, my interpreter announced the arrival of the Saphirobai chiefs, who had formed a league with the Seclaves; and likewise informed me, that they had about three thousand armed men with them, by means of whom he was assured they meditated a surprise. An hour afterwards, the chief Raoul came to demand an asylum for himself and family, at the same time that he acquainted me, that he had been plundered by the confederates, and

had only time to save the lives of himself and family; that part of his people had been made prisoners by the enemy, and all his goods were destroyed by the flames. The unfortunate fate of this chief affected me much, and I begged him to retire with his family into the fort. This chief, in the infancy of the establishment, had been conquered and driven out of his province by my allies, because he opposed the building of a fortress; and in the present instance he suffered for his attachment to me.

At nine o'clock, the Seclaves and Saphirobai appeared at the distance of about a cannon shot. Their troops consisted of more than three thousand men. They sent deputies to request me to come to their camp to hear their complaints. This expression rather disconcerted me, as their complaints were backed by an armed force. But at last, not to give them reason to imagine that I was awed by their appearance, I put my troops in order to defend the fort, and went to the place of meeting. On my arrival, I ordered my interpreter to attend to their proposals and complaints. The confederates then demanded, that I should withdraw my troops from the interior parts of the island, especially from the post at the plain of Health; and that I should dispense them from the oath by which they had surrendered to me the banks of the river Tingballe, because they said they had been surprized by the promise I had made them of a secure trade, which should afford them the same advantages they had enjoyed with private traders, and of which they had been deprived since the arrival of the military. They concluded their harangue by observing, that their interests did not admit of the troops being allowed a settlement; and they added that private traders, upon coming amongst them, had always paid a duty, of which they had been deprived since the establishment of the settlement; and more particularly they declared, that formerly every merchant, and even King's

vessel, on its arrival, saluted the chiefs with two guns, a respectful custom which I had maliciously abolished.

After having calmly listened to their speech, and finding myself in a very critical situation, I replied, that they would do well to consider what they were about; that as they had surrendered to us the lands we were in possession of, they could not reclaim them without violating their oath. Besides which, having entered into an alliance with the settlement, every violent proceeding on their part would authorize me to employ my troops in punishing them; so that I could not make them any satisfaction without positive orders. That the demolition of the fort, and withdrawing of the troops from the internal parts of the island, were things impossible to be agreed to; that with regard to the honours, I would give orders to the officers of the shipping to do as they had formerly done; but that with regard to their pretended right to a duty on ships, which entered their ports, it was ridiculous, because it had never been heard that friends and allies received those who came only to trade, from any other motives than to serve themselves.

My speech astonished the people; but some of the chiefs cried out, let us come to business, and took notice that they could not have a better opportunity, as they had one in their hands, and could oblige me to do that by force which I refused to do from good will. In the mean time, I found myself surrounded on all sides, and should certainly have passed a quarter of an hour very disagreeably, if the Commander * at the head of fifty blacks, had not hastened to my assistance. His spirited attack obliged a party of the enemy to oppose him, while another detachment having attacked the fort, and suffered a vigorous repulse, threw their troops into confusion. This gave me an opportunity of making my escape. I saw only two chiefs who opposed my passage.

* Name not legible.

I parried their strokes, upon which they cried out, he is a sorcerer, we are undone. Taking advantage of their stupidity, I rallied the troop of my Commander, among whom I found several of my officers and soldiers, who seeing me surrounded, had sacrificed themselves to assist me. The Commandant of the fort likewise, seeing me clear of the enemy, pointed the cannon, and prepared to fire, which he had forborn to do before, lest I should become the victim of his fire. The enemy soon perceived my escape; and for fear of the artillery, hastily retired towards the wood, firing a few shot as they retreated.

On my arrival at the fort, I saw my troops again with much satisfaction, as I could not give too much praise to them for their attention to orders. It may here be objected that I did not act prudently, in putting myself in this manner in the hands of the enemy, as it was in my power to have prevented their approach, by making use of my cannon. In answer to which, I must observe in my justification,

1. That in order to be at liberty to act against a nation, which it is intended to civilize, it is necessary to be in possession of facts that prove them the aggressors.

2. A chief cannot dispense with attending to complaints. If I had refused to comply with a request which carried so much the appearance of justice, the party of the complaining nation might have found means of inspiring others with ambiguous sentiments, and my conduct would have afforded them authority for so doing.

3. If unfortunately in a Cabar or assembly, I had made use of cannon, which would have produced a massacre, the other neighbouring nations, being ill informed of the circumstances, would always have suspected that I had premeditated the stroke; and that the assembly had been convened for no other purpose than to exterminate them. An event of this nature,

however founded in justice, would have been sufficient to have alienated the minds of every one for a short time; but by avoiding it, my conduct was productive of real advantage. The neighbouring people, informed of the conduct of the Saphirobai and Seclaves, and of the moderation with which I had repelled them, could not delay to join our cause. The war we were about to enter into, would be justified before it could be criticised. For this reason likewise it was, that I determined to make offers of peace to our enemies, which they refused, and by that means cleared us of all reproach.

On the 3d, the interpreters, whom I had sent to the Saphirobai, with offers of peace, returned with the information, that the confederates had haughtily refused every proposal of accommodation, and had sent a party of a thousand men to take the post at the plain of Health. The next day I received news, that the enemy had been repulsed at fort Augustus, and at the plain.

On the 5th, the chief Sancé arrived with one thousand men, to assist the settlement against the confederates. This chief was descended from a pirate named Zan. In the night of the same day, I was apprized of the arrival of thirty boats of the country, bringing six hundred armed warriors from the province of Rantabe.

On the 6th, a detachment I had sent to reconnoitre the enemy returned, and informed me, that the Antambour nation, allied to the Saphirobai, had established a camp in the plain, and waited only for the junction of the Saphirobai and Seclaves to attack the post. And that on the other hand the Saphirobai and the Seclaves had formed three camps, between the post at the plain and the chief settlement, to cut off the communication. The same day I was informed of the arrival of fifteen thousand armed men, of the Sambarive nation, who came to assist the establishment, and requested to be sent against the enemy without delay.

On the 10th, the Sambarives being all joined by the Mulatto chiefs, composed a body of upwards of six thousand men, with which I took the field. The campaign promised to be laborious, on account of the necessity of climbing rocks and mountains, and passing over marshy lands, which threatened to deprive me of the advantage of my cannon.

Having at last approached the enemy's camp, who were established in the plain of Mahertomp, I sent Messrs. L'Armina and certain officers of my corps, with fifty volunteers, and two thousand blacks, with orders to attack the enemy's post at sun-set. Soon afterwards we heard several repeated discharges, which obliged me to march to support my detachment, who had not been able to dislodge the enemy from the advantageous situation they were encamped in. But the firing ceasing all at once, I supposed the parties had separated. To arrive at a certainty, I sent two volunteers, who reported, that they had observed two camps at a little distance from each other, and that each were busied in forming entrenchments. After this information, I sent Lieutenant la Tour, of my corps to make a circuit to the other side of the enemy's camp, where he was ordered to remain concealed till midnight; after which time he was to rush impetuously upon them, and at the instant of our attack to fire on them from the other side. My officer performed his orders with great exactness; and I heard several reports of pateraroes at two in the morning, at which instant, as I was ready to march, I proceeded strait to the enemy; but instead of enemies, I met the Sambarives on the road, who, having heard the reports of the large pieces, supposed that I had attacked the enemy. Being thus united by accident to the whole of my forces. I entered the plain of Mahertomp, where we found no enemies, but in their place, my officer, with his detachment. He informed me, that, pursuant to my orders, he had

briskly attacked the enemy's camp, who, upon hearing the repeated discharge of cannon, imagined the attack to be supported by our whole army, and had made their escape, some by swimming, and the rest into the woods. My detachment collected upwards of two hundred muskets, which the fugitives had left in their haste. Forty prisoners were taken by my people.

Having in this manner become master of the plain of Mahertomp, which is really the most agreeable spot, and the richest part of the whole province of Antimaroa, occupying a space of six leagues along the banks of the river of Tingballe, and more than thirteen in depth, perfectly well cultivated and inhabited throughout, I judged it proper to establish a post to preserve it, and to secure a communication between it, and the chief settlement, and the plain of Health. As I had six thousand blacks under my command, I set them to work without delay on this project; and while I thus employed my people, I determined to send back the prisoners with proposals of peace, to convince them of our good intentions. But these infatuated people still refused to accede to my proposition.

On the 12th, the redoubt was finished at the plain of Mahertomp, in which I left twelve volunteers commanded by an officer, and defended by four cannon, which I had caused to be brought from Louisbourg. I then proceeded with my whole army to the plain of Health, where on my arrival I learned that the enemy, to the number of seven or eight thousand, was encamped at no more than two leagues distance from us; and that their camp was well entrenched and palisaded. This stopped my progress, until I could receive four field pieces from Louisbourg. But the chiefs of my allies being desirous of proving their valour, without waiting the arrival of the artillery, went and attacked the enemy unknown to me. They made several fruitless assaults, and being at last repelled, they retired as far

as to the foot of the mountain, with the enemy close at their backs.

My four pieces of cannon being at last arrived, I marched myself, with thirty volunteers and two hundred disciplined natives, in the pay of the settlement. We departed in the night unknown to our allies, and at day-break, after having erected two batteries, I began a very hot fire on the enemy. In the space of half an hour, one side of their palisade being entirely destroyed, they abandoned their first entrenchment, and filed off behind a kind of redoubt, from which they were likewise dislodged. At last they hastened, in the utmost confusion, to a branch of the river of Ranoumena, which was out of the reach of my cannon. But my allies, being informed that I was engaged with the enemy, ran up, and seeing the camp taken, quickly passed the river, attacked and drove them without resistance. This whole business was performed with only two volunteers wounded, who were my cook and servant. The loss of the Sambarives consisted of eleven men, and of the enemy about sixty-five. The Sambarives pursued them for some days, as far as their frontier; but I remained at the plain of Health.

On the 21st, after having refreshed my people, I raised my camp at the plain, in order to be nearer the second division of the enemy, who had retired into the morass of Ampangou, upon an island of about six leagues in circumference, and surrounded with water.

On the 22d, I arrived at the plain of Mahertomp, where I pitched my camp at the foot of the new redoubt. Five days were employed in discovering the passage through the morass, and in reconnoitring the position of the enemy.

On the 27th, I raised my camp at the plain of Mahertomp, and after having passed the river of Tingballe, I arrived at the entrance of the morass, from whence we

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...enemy's camp, at the distance of about a league and half, and consisting of four thousand men. On the 29th, we received a check at the entrance of the river Ramatsiatchy, which the enemy were obstinately determined to defend. The Seclaves lost so many men, that they quitted their allies, whose forces were considerably weakened by this event.

On the 29th, several skirmishes took place between our people and the enemy. This night four volunteers, who had been sent to collect wood for the use of the camp, passed the morass, and thought proper to amuse themselves by attacking the enemy, to whose tents they set fire.

July the 1st, 1775. Continual rains increased the waters of Ampangou to such an height, that our camp was overflowed, and we were obliged to retreat above a league. Our enemies, attributing our retreat to another cause, took courage and attempted to harass us.

From the 2d to the 8th it rained continually, which gave the enemy time to surround their camp with a ditch and palisade.

On the 9th, I received advice, that a party of about three thousand of the enemy had rallied since the defeat of the Antambours, and had joined the opposite camp; and that another party were very troublesome in the neighbourhood of Louisbourg. On this day I heard of the arrival of a vessel.

On the 10th, the officer commanding the redoubt at the plain of Mahertomp, which I had named Fort St. John, wrote to me, that reports were current to the effect, that the enemy was desirous of forming a treaty of peace with me, to the prejudice of the Sambarives and other nations in alliance, who already began to murmur, more especially as I did not attack the enemy, though they did not consider the obstacles occasioned by the overflowing of the waters.

On the 13th, the enemy being in want of provisions

ıe camp, out of which they dared not sally for fear my party, began to repent of their warfare. In consequence of this information, I sent several boats loaded with rice and bananas, with some brandy; and let them understand, that I was so far from being desirous of exterminating them, that I would leave them a clear passage to retreat, whenever they thought proper, on condition of their laying down their arms. Accordingly, I withdrew two posts which guarded the passage from the island to the firm land. This step was attended with much success; for the enemy perceiving themselves every day more distressed by famine, began to retire in troops, and several came to me. These I received kindly; and after giving them some provisions, I suffered them to go where they pleased.

On the 14th, I received information from Louisbourg of the arrival of the private ship the Conquerant, commanded by the Sieur Olivier, from the isle of France, which brought dispatches from the government of that colony: wherein I was informed, that the Chevalier de Sanglier, Captain of my corps, whom I had sent to demand supplies, had received an absolute refusal. This disagreeable news gave me the greatest concern; but as it was a step of prudence to encourage my people, I gave out, that this ship would be followed by two of his Majesty's packets, with a supply of one hundred men; and I succeeded in destroying, in some measure, the consternation of my officers.

From the 15th to the 19th, I was informed that the enemy had entered into a treacherous correspondence with part of our allies. I therefore set my confidential spies at work to make discoveries.

On the 20th in the morning, a detachment, which had been sent out of the camp to observe the enemy, discovered two blacks making their escape; the elder of whom said to the other, "Run and tell them, that no dependance can be placed on those whom they

supposed to be their friends, and that I am taken." This black being brought before me, confessed that he had been sent to seduce part of our allies; but that not having succeeded, they had been desirous of informing their countrymen, that we intended to attack them. Upon this deposition, I immediately caused a meeting of several chiefs to be held, who condemned him to death. I consented to the decree with greater willingness, because the man was found to be the same, who in the infancy of the settlement had engaged to set fort Louis on fire. His sentence was immediately carried into execution.

On the 24th, the commanding officer of fort St. John reported, that a soldier of the name of La Gonivier, lately arrived from the isle of France, had made several mutinous proposals, by assuring the troops that they were abandoned, and that the isle of France was so far from sending any supplies, that on the contrary, its chiefs sought every occasion to destroy us. Being desirous of verifying the fact myself, I gave directions to take no notice; and with a view to watch the man more narrowly, I ordered him into my own camp. In the night, between eleven and twelve o'clock, hearing a noise, I came out of my tent, and saw the soldier, La Gonivier, make several strokes with a sabre at the officer of the guard, at the same time that I distinctly heard him say, "That the time would soon come, when the soldiers should command the officers at Madagascar." I therefore called the guard, which ran and endeavoured to take the mutineer. The man in despair rushed on them, and wounded two, crying out, "Come on, my friends." This call at first led me to suspect a plot. I observed, however, from all the motions of the volunteers, that they remained composed and steady in their duty, by closing upon the mutineer, who fled towards the wood, but was brought down by a ball. This unexpected event, which tended to disconcert our black

allies, induced me to hasten his execution. I therefore called a council of my officers without delay, but the criminal expired of his wound before his trial came on.

On the 28th, the enemy remaining still in a small number on their posts, which they were obstinately determined not to quit, being encouraged by the promise of thirty thousand men on the part of the Seclaves, I determined to attack them. But as I had no intention of causing a massacre, I advised them of our approach by several discharges of cannon.

On the 26th, 27th, and 28th, our black allies pursued the enemy; who retired to the Northern parts of the island, as far as the frontiers of Antimananhar.

August the 1st. The Sieur Bourdé, to whom the Minister had granted the whale fishery on the coast of Madagascar, not having succeeded in his enterprize, requested my permission to purchase rice, in order to indemnify him for his want of success. I willingly agreed to his request, as the establishment being destitute of merchandize, could not carry on any commerce itself. I granted the same permission to the Sieur Olivier, who brought a vessel from the isle of France.

August the 3d, being delivered from our enemies, and the province of Antimaroa being without cultivation, I proposed to the Sambarives, to replace the Saphirobai, who had been driven out of their province. My proposition was joyfully accepted, and they immediately agreed to pay me an annual acknowledgment for the protection of the establishment.

On the 4th, a general meeting being held for the division of the conquered lands of the enemy, I gave the right branch of the river of Tingballe to the Sambarives, and kept the left branch for the establishment. Several parties of the Saphirobai detesting the offences they had committed against the establishment, now came to request forgiveness. The kind and affable manner in which I received them, soon caused them to

forget their losses, and to condemn their chiefs, who had sacrificed their people to their own private interests. From these fugitives I likewise learned, that the Saphirobai were forced to wander in the woods, and subsist upon roots, because the chiefs of the other provinces refused them an asylum. I determined, therefore, to take advantage of this circumstance, to show the uprightness of my intentions; and for this purpose, on the following day, I sent commissioners to the neighbouring chiefs, to desire them to assist the Saphirobai with the necessaries of life, and to receive them freely, provided they denounced their purpose of continuing the war. This step could not but be productive of manifest advantage.

On the 5th, another embarrassment presented itself. The subsistence of the troops of our allies became chargeable to the establishment, and I determined to dismiss them. But this, according to the custom of the island, could not be done without recompensing them by presents.

The 7th, and 8th, were employed in the distribution of presents; and I had the satisfaction to see the different nations with their chiefs, return contented with my manner of proceeding.

On the 9th, I was attacked by a fever.

On the 10th, being no longer employed by the war, I directed my attention entirely to procure the comforts of life for the establishment, on a good footing. Being convinced of the inconveniences to which my people were exposed, in houses constructed with leaves, after the manner of the country, I determined to construct the whole of wood. My troops, with two thousand hired blacks, should have been employed in building new apartments for the Governor, with an hospital, barracks, and store-houses, and two hundred other blacks in building sixty houses, to form the town; and during the building, the troop of Sance, composed of

twelve hundred men, should have laboured in filling the morass. But it was unfortunate that I was then without the means, otherwise Louisbourg would soon have changed its appearance.

On the 16th, my disorder increased, and I felt an universal weakness, which obliged me to place the command in the hands of Captain Mallendre, reserving to myself, however, the communication of all affairs of importance. My illness, however, became continually worse, so that I was not consulted on any business whatever.

On the 20th, I was somewhat better, and received information of the death of the Sieur Garreau.

On the 1st of September, this brave and intelligent officer was carried to the tomb, to the regret of the whole corps. The place of engineer which he possessed, being rendered vacant by his death, I gave orders to the Sieur Rosier, the scholar of the Sieur Garreau, to perform that office.

On the 21st, the officers of my corps waited upon me, and requested, that I would give them orders relative to the intention of the Court, with respect to the establishment at Madagascar; that in case my illness should prevent my being in a situation to attend to the colony, they might act conformably to the good of the service; but finding myself weaker that day than ordinary, I requested them to meet at my house on the 22d.

On the 22d, the fever left me, and I found myself somewhat stronger. This day the meeting was held, by which the council was adjourned to the 25th.

On the 25th, the council met by adjournment, and I received information, that eight wooden houses were finished, in which the troops were lodged.

October the 1st. The Sieur Olivier, master of a private vessel from the isle of France, by whose means the subsistence of the establishment had been provided

for, set sail with a cargo of six hundred and fifty thousand pounds of rice; the Sieur Bourdé likewise took in a cargo of eight hundred and fifty thousand pounds of rice. This supply of provisions must have been very acceptable; and if the isle of France had supplied our store-houses with merchandize, a prodigious quantity might have been had, which the islanders wasted for want of sale; and there is reason to apprehend, that this want will diminish their industry next season.

On the 2d, the Sambarive chiefs requested permission to erect flag staffs on their territory, to distinguish the chiefs from each other. I agreed to their request, and at the same time distributed to each chief a white flag, with different stripes of red and blue, to distinguish their degrees. The same day the Saphirobai chiefs, who had always remained attached to the government, requested permission to build a town, under the protection of fort Louis, in order to defend them from the incursions of their adversaries. I agreed to their request with pleasure, as it afforded a means of attaining my purpose, which was to people the province as much as possible, on account of its vicinity to the chief settlement, where the consumption must naturally be more considerable, than in any other part of the island.

On the 3d, I began to perceive a return of my strength, and I found the hospital entirely empty; a circumstance which shews, that my troops at this time were stronger than ever. I do not, however, here speak of that vigour which is natural to Europeans in their own country, but which they lose in hot climates.

On the 4th, Hiavi, chief of the province of Mahavelou, demanded my assistance against the Fariavas and Betalimenes, who had declared war against him. As this chief had always acted in the interests of the Europeans, I determined to assist him; and for that

purpose, detached seven volunteers with a subaltern officer, to Foul Point, to act according to the orders of the commander at that out-settlement. I was convinced before hand, that the mere report of my having taken part with Hiavi, would put an end to the war.

On the 6th, the hospital, with all the adjoining buildings, were at last finished in a solid manner; but, fortunately, we were at this time in a situation to keep them vacant.

From the 7th to the 12th, I made an excursion, to visit the district which had been surrendered to the Sambarives, on the banks of the river Tingballe. The lands were excellent, but the territory annexed to the establishment by the late conquest, were greatly superior. What immense riches might be derived from a district of land, twenty-two leagues in length, upon the coast of a navigable river? This excursion entirely restored my health.

On the 13th, I gave orders to cover the post of fort St. John, by a broad ditch and a double palisade, with a covered way, and to build several houses in wood, for the accommodation of such as might stop there, in their way to the plain of Health.

On the 14th, I received a courier from the Sieur Mayeur, interpreter, and Mr. Corbi, officer of my corps, the latter of whom I had sent in boats round the Northern parts of the island, while the former went by land along the shore, in order to examine all the bays, harbours, and rivers, the inhabitants, their numbers, forces, industry, productions, and mutual interests. I ordered them to continue their journey, until they arrived at the territories of Lambouin, a chief who assumed the title of King of the North. My intention was to engage this chief in our interests, and to purchase of him the island Nossebe, situated to the N. W. of the island of Madagascar, in 13° 15′ S. latitude, and 45° 6′ longitude from Paris. These two

officers sent me the journals of the coast. They informed me, that they had joined company in the territories of the chief Lambouin, by whom they were amicably received; that this chief being astonished at the renown of the white men, had determined before their arrival, to send ambassadors to me, to form a treaty with the establishment, and that profiting by his good disposition, they had caused him to enter into an oath of friendship; that they had purchased the island Nossebe of him; and that having in this manner attained the purposes of their mission, they waited only for my orders to return.

Being thus assured of the attachment of Lambouin, whose interest it was to secure himself against the vexations of the Seclaves, I could depend on a respectable ally, capable of furnishing fifteen or twenty thousand men.

From the 15th to the 20th, being in perfect tranquillity, and my troops being recovered from their fatigue, I recommenced the works, and employed them in building a place of residence for the Governor.

On the 21st, I received information that several bands of the Saphirobai fugitives had approached the establishment, where they had burned several houses of the Sambarives; upon which I immediately detached twelve volunteers, commanded by an officer, and supported by six hundred blacks, to clear the woods and their avenues.

On the 22d, my detachment returned in the evening with three prisoners, whom they had taken, after surprizing a party of these black robbers.

On the 23d, I received a packet from my officer, who commanded at Foul Point, in which he informed me, that the enemies of Hiavi had made offers of peace, on condition that the commander of that post should be appointed judge, to determine the differences which might arise between them and Hiavi; but that

the latter, not having thought proper to consent, my officer engaged to bring Hiavi to reason, provided he might have permission to use threats, in case he obstinately continued to refuse his compliance. As this manœuvre promised to gain an entire people to my interests, and I was well aware of the prudence of my officer, I returned precise orders to him in consequence.

October the 24th. The end of the month now approaching, without the arrival of any news from Europe, and the return of the Chevalier de Sanglier, whom I had sent for supplies to the isle of France, being likewise retarded, produced the most afflicting reflections in my mind; and I had no other resource than my firmness against the unhappy fate which pursued me. I considered the approach of the bad season, during which, if the supplies should continue to be with-held (as it would be out of my power to form establishments in the interior parts of the country), I had every reason to expect that the settlement would be again plunged into the most critical situation. The troops seeing none of the supplies arrive, upon which their hopes had been hitherto supported, must of course consider themselves as abandoned; and that with so much the more certainty, as the reports spread in the isle of France, concerning the reduction of my troops had been divulged at Madagascar, notwithstanding all my precautions. The courage of my officers, who had adopted the firm resolution of doing their duty, by encouraging their men, was the only circumstance which supported me, and gave me reason to presume that I might still resist the pressure of misfortune. But who could answer for the continuance of my force, which must every day become less effectual? What an unhappy situation it is for a Commander in Chief, who, after resisting the intemperature of hot climates, suffered dangerous diseases, and undergone infinite fatigue;—who, after having seen his troops diminished

one-third, finds himself under the necessity of facing every circumstance, without losing the advantages he has gained, but on the contrary, preserving them against sudden revolutions; and who, instead of the supplies he had requested, is exposed to the jealousy and calumnies of persons in place who were ordered by the Government to afford him every assistance!—A promise was made me, that I should receive every year supplies, and a reinforcement of one hundred and twenty men; and that in the mean time the isle of France should support me in every pressing exigency; and in a word, that nothing should be wanting for the success of my mission. But, alas, two whole years were gone, and I still remained without supplies. If they were still delayed, I saw that the fatal instant would not fail to arrive, in which the fruits of all my labour, care, and fatigue would vanish, and France be for ever deprived of the power of regaining the confidence of the natives. Such were the reflections that oppressed me, and on an occasion like this, the pen can never describe the sufferings of the mind.

From the 25th, to the end of the month, I employed my time in visiting the posts, which I found every where in perfect order. But I found sadness and depression in every countenance; a sadness which certainly did not arise from a spirit of mutiny. I knew my troops too well to suspect it. But I could be at no loss for the cause. Destitute of linen, of clothes, or covering, I beheld them disheartened, and had not external resource to relieve them, and restore their spirits.

November the 1st, 1775. Activity and resolution were never more necessary. I collected a number of the native women, whom I employed in making cloth, and ten volunteers were selected to perform the occupation of taylors, in clothing my poor fellows. I succeeded in tanning skins, and being provided with shoemakers,

the prospect of again possessing shoes, began to be more cheering than before. Nothing therefore remained but to divert my men. For this purpose I exercised them in firing at a mark, and gave a prize to such as distinguished themselves. This exercise tended to render them more serviceable, and was at the same time an object of entertainment. In consequence of this determination, I put a stop to the ordinary works, and began the exercises.

On the 4th, I was informed of the arrival of the Saphirobai chief Effonlahé, who was sent by his nation to demand an audience. I referred him to the next day, in order to give time to the Sambarive chiefs to come together, and be present at the delivery of the propositions of this envoy.

On the 5th, the assembly being met, the envoy of the Saphirobai entered. His head was shaven, as a mark of submission, and prostrating himself on the ground, he pronounced these words. "I, the unfortunate chief of the race of the Saphirobai Antimaroa, throw myself at the feet of the justice and mercy of the great Chief, to implore his grace, in the name of my whole nation, which requests permission to send deputies to expiate its fault. I am come before to offer my life if it be necessary. Conqueror, in us thou mayest no longer behold an enemy, but the remains of an unhappy people, who are obedient and submissive to thy laws."

After having listened to his speech, I replied as follows: "I have beheld with sorrow the irregularities of the Saphirobai chiefs. I call your own nation to witness, with what tenderness I have conducted myself, with a view to maintain an alliance and avoid a war, whose consequences could not fail to end in your destruction. And thou, chief Effonlahé, who now speakest with me, say, wast thou not three times charged to carry offers of peace to thy countrymen? Am I to blame that my offers produced three refusals? Judge

then this day, who has acted wrong; and who it is that has deserved the chastisement of heaven. The oaths of fidelity, by which we were united before this unhappy war, have been sported with by you. You have broken your engagements with us. You have dared to infringe a compact made in the presence of the great God. It is he who has punished you, and pursues you with his vengeance.—But I am charged never to refuse the offers of friendship made by the people of Madagascar. It is my duty to protect the unfortunate, and to remember justice where it is due, at the price of my blood, and that of my companions. It is by virtue of these orders that I grant forgiveness to the nation of the Saphirobai. They may without fear send any of their chiefs to me during the course of the ensuing month, to regulate the common interests of both nations."

The envoy of the Saphirobai, contented with my answer, repeated his prayers, thanked me, and retired.

The Sambarive chiefs, who were present at the assembly, informed me of their apprehensions, that as I had pardoned the Saphirobai, I should restore them their entire province, and consequently, that they should be forced to abandon their establishment. But when they had received an assurance from me, that that part of the province which had been granted to them, should remain in their possession, by virtue of the treaty concluded with the Saphirobai, they became contented.

From the 6th of November, to the 13th, I was constantly employed in exercising my troops; and their cloathing being at last ready, was distributed among them.

On the 14th, a courier from Foul Point, accompanied with two chiefs, subject to Hiavi, arrived. My officers informed me, that Hiavi had at last consented to my request, and that peace was concluded on; but that,

on the other hand, the chiefs who were subject to Hiavi, were meditating a revolt against him, as they could no longer bear his oppression. The two chiefs who arrived with my courier, gave me an account of this, and assured me, that the people who were subject to Hiavi, were perfectly willing to submit to the settlement, provided I would declare against their Sovereign. I might perhaps have listened to this proposition at another time; but in the situation I then stood, it would not have been prudent to have engaged myself in an affair of such a nature, as might have produced very serious consequences. I therefore contented myself with promising to these two chiefs that I would bring Hiavi to reason, and in the meantime I forbad them to make any attempt against him, until I had ascertained the facts myself. My promise was accompanied by presents, with which they were well satisfied.

The interests of the settlement required, that the power of Hiavi should be limited, but a sudden revolution might probably endanger the government; and it is not till after a course of time, that the authority of certain chiefs can be diminished. In the mean time, it is necessary to treat them with mildness, and to explain to them their true interests. For it is certain, that the Madagascar nations can never be subjugated by force, and the work of civilization cannot be accomplished, but by a man who by his conduct, virtue, and justice, shall have acquired the confidence of the chiefs and people.

The 15th and 16th, were employed in repairing all the shallops, boats, and canoes, and putting them in a state for service.

On the 17th, the Sieur Aumont, storekeeper, died. I immediately gave orders to the clerk to seal all his effects and papers, to forward them to Mr. Maillart; and on the other hand, that the service might not

suffer, I gave orders to make an inventory of the contents of the store-houses, which I entrusted provisionally to the Sieur Besse, treasurer, conformably to the intention of the Minister, who, in his letter took notice, that the treasury and stores might be intrusted to one person. This business was quickly performed, but I was greatly astonished to hear from the Secretary of the administration, that all the registers of entry and disbursements were blank. This admirable method of keeping accounts, must no doubt have been productive of no very agreeable consequences to Mr. Maillart, who chose these people.

On the 18th, I received advice from the blacks, that an English ship which had sailed along the coast during the course of the month, had suffered so much by a tempest, that they were forced to fire several guns for assistance, in the sight of the settlement of Angontzi; but that the hard weather having driven her off the coast, they had lost sight of her; and she had been since seen from Andrava, at the distance of two leagues from the shore, on fire. No more than seven people were saved in the boat, which came on shore at Loquez. The following day I sent an order to the Sieur Mayeur, interpreter, (who was not more than two days journey distance from the place where these unfortunate people had landed) to give them assistance, and afford them the means of coming to the chief settlement.

On the 19th, several blacks from the Western coast informed me, that the chiefs of the Seclaves had held a meeting, in which they had determined to make war upon the French, and to engage all the people of the East in their interests; in consequence of which, they had sent several chiefs into the different provinces, to persuade them to unite against the establishment. These reports demanded all my attention. I likewise sent spies on my part to inquire into the truth, in order

that I might have time to make preparations, in case the Seclaves should succeed, in forming their league with the people of the East coast; and they were particularly directed to ascertain, whether they proposed to fall upon us in the bad season, which would have greatly embarrassed me.

On the 20th, I sent my spies with articles of trade to purchase cattle. Under this pretence, they were to obtain information of manœuvres of the Seclaves, and the intentions of the different nations.

On the 21st, the Sambarive chiefs assembled at the settlement in great consternation, at the news of the war, which the Seclaves had declared against the establishment. They demanded why the succours from France were so long delayed; and how I should act, in case I should be attacked by the Seclaves in the bad season, before their arrival. They observed, likewise, that with my small number of people, I could not make any resistance against the enemy; and that they themselves should become their victims, as being the most faithful and zealous friends of the establishment. To encourage them, and remove their apprehensions, I replied, that I was ashamed of the fear, which so brave a nation as themselves had shewn on this occasion; that the Sambarives ought to have a better opinion of my courage; and that I knew well what would be the properest mode of proceeding. My answer, however, did not satisfy them. They repeated their complaints, and said, "You will abandon us. Your King has not sent any more people to you. You are ready to quit us, and we alone shall be unfortunate, for having been your friends." The voice of the people and of the chiefs was the same. They requested me to take an oath that I would not abandon them. I gave several entertainments to the chiefs and people of the Sambarives, and neglected nothing to inspire them with all the necessary confidence. But in my own mind, I had as

much need of consolation; for I found myself at the approach of the bad season, without supplies, without troops, and in a word, entirely abandoned.

On the 14th of December, a periagua arrived from the North, which brought me a Malay woman, who alone had survived the wreck of the English vessel. She informed me, that the English vessel had left Bombay with sixteen guns and one hundred men, and that her cargo was composed of silk and other merchandize of India, with firearms and brandy; that after their departure from Bombay, they had put in at the island of Johanna; and, lastly, that on their arrival on the coast of Madagascar, they had tried to take some of the natives, to speak with them, but had not succeeded, notwithstanding the repeated trips their boats had made on shore; at the approach of which, the natives of the country were always seen either armed to prevent their landing, or flying into the interior parts of the country; that, lastly, the vessel being overtaken by a tempest, was obliged to stand off the coast, and upon her having caught fire, the whole crew took the boats to make for the shore; that out of three boats two were sunk by the number of people who crowded into them, and the jolly-boat only reached the shore with seven persons, including the Captain; that the Captain with six others were dead, and she alone remained out of the ship.

On the 15th, my spies having returned, confirmed the report, that great preparations for war were making by the Seclaves against us, and that they waited only for the breaking up of the bad season, to take the field to the number of thirty thousand men; that they had sent several emissaries into the different provinces to engage the chiefs on their side, but that they depended much more on their own forces, flattering themselves that the French durst not face them, and that during the time they should keep them shut up in their forts, they should be at liberty to reduce the provinces of

their allies, who would be forced to follow their standards. This information, though very disagreeable, on account of the disposition and situation of the establishment, gave me some consolation; because I was assured, that the Seclaves would leave me in tranquillity during the whole of the bad season, and that the supplies so long expected would at length arrive.

On the 16th, I sent several messengers both to the North and South of the island, to inform the chiefs of the movements of the Seclaves; at the same time enjoining them, to hold themselves in readiness to join my forces at the first orders I should give. I signified to them besides, that all those who should receive the Seclaves among them, under any pretext whatever, would be considered as enemies of the establishment.

On the 18th, I received information of the arrival of the chiefs of the Saphirobai and Antambour, who requested a meeting, and demanded peace.

On the 21st, the Saphirobai and Antambour chiefs were admitted into the Cabar. They represented to me, that the misfortunes and power of war, having dispossessed them of their province, and being reduced to the vile and abject condition of vagabonds, who have no country, they had unanimously determined to surrender themselves to my discretion; that they requested only a part of their province for cultivation, without pretending to the propriety, the right of which belonged to the Sambarives. They concluded by observing, that if they were to be unhappy, they intreated at least, that they might be permitted to die in their own country. Being informed from my interpreters, of the sincerity of their repentance, and the interests of the establishment requiring, that the province should be as fully peopled as possible, I pardoned them, and the chiefs entered into an oath of submission and fidelity.

On the 24th, a signal was made on the mountain, that a two masted vessel was in sight.

On the 26th, the vessel anchored near the isle Aiguillon, about noon, and the Chevalier de Sanglier, Captain, whom I had sent to the isle of France, being come on shore, presented to me four recruits he had raised, which composed the succour the isle of France sent me. I employed the whole day in reading my packets, in hopes of finding some order or letter from the minister; but I found nothing but the railleries which the letters of Messrs. de Ternay and Maillart were filled with. Mr. de Sanglier informed me, that several suits at law were carrying on against me in the isle of France: and lastly, that every outrage, calumny, and imposture, was used to overwhelm me. I here pass them over in silence, as they form no part of my operations.

On the 27th, the four persons whom Mr. de Ternay forwarded to me to be employed as volunteers of honour, were presented to me. This commander pretended to serve the state, by sending men to me whose past conduct had consisted of highly reprehensible irregularities, and unnatural crimes. I do not here mention their names on account of their families; but I do not think they escaped at Madagascar. This island is a true touchstone for the conduct of men. I received information of the death of his Majesty, Louis XV. of happy memory, and the joyful accession of his Majesty Louis XVI. to the throne. I likewise understood that the Ministry was changed; and I was apprehensive that for this reason my supplies would be retarded, and the plan of my operations might probably be changed. In a word, all these circumstances opposed my progress. I had no other dependance than patience and firmness, and the hope that the veil which covered the future, would at last fall.

January the 1st, 1776. I was busied in adjusting the accounts of my troops, and those of the general storehouse, which I discharged out of my own purse.

On the 10th, his Majesty's packet le Dauphin, commanded by Ensign Tromelin, left the isle of France to go to the Secheyles islands, and put in at the settlement for provisions, which I caused to be delivered to them.

On the 11th, his Majesty's brig le Coureur, which I had sent to Mozambique arrived. The Captain of this vessel informed me, that he had been forced to anchor at the isle of France, and that he could purchase but very few slaves. This information astonished me, as the articles of trade with which we had been supplied from the general storehouse, had been very considerable. I therefore sent an officer on board to examine the officers and crew, respecting the trade at Mozambique; and I went on board myself to assist in the examination. In this way I learned, that the Captain had sold forty-two blacks at the isle of France, which were the produce of his cargo, and the rice. I therefore caused him to be put under confinement on board the vessel. Three men from the isle of France were sent on shore, one of whom called himself a taylor, the other a cabinet-maker, and the third a writer. They were all three sick, and had been taken out of the hospital, doubtless with a view to augment the number of the dead at Madagascar.

On the 12th, I received advice that the Rohandrian Cunifaloues was on his way to put himself under the protection of the establishment, in order to resist the Seclaves, who threatened him, and several parties of whom had already set whole villages in flames upon our frontiers.

On the 13th, two Sambarive chiefs, who were attached to my person, informed me, that the King of the Seclaves had sent a secret messenger to Hiavi, King and Chief of Foul Point, to engage him to act against the interests of the establishment, and that Hiavi had held a meeting on this business, in which the envoys of

the Seclaves had proposed to Hiavi, to support him in the sovereignty over the whole East coast, on condition that he should make war on the establishment. But that Hiavi would not consent to make war upon the white men; because he said, it was impossible for the King to resist the French, whose Fangafoudi, or sorcerers, were stronger than those of the blacks; and that moreover the Baron, having a knowledge of the stars, knew every thing which was contrived against him, and that he (Hiavi) having engaged by oath to be faithful to the establishment, durst not make any attempt against it, as he was sure to die immediately, in case he should break his oath.

On the 14th, we were in the midst of the bad season. If it should weaken us, said I to myself, and the supplies be still detained, I may say with Virgil, *Sic vos non vobis, nidificatis aves.*

I received information that Hiavi, notwithstanding his answer to the Seclaves, was inclined to their side, and that he had furnished them with arms and ammunition. This conduct induced me to depress his authority, which was easy to be done, by assuring the Mulatta chiefs, who were descended from Europeans, that the alliance of Hiavi with the Seclaves, would reduce them to servitude, and that when they were reduced to the obedience of Hiavi, they would soon be confounded with his slaves. Their proud spirit would have eagerly seized the instant to withdraw themselves from the subjection to Hiavi, by attaching themselves entirely to the establishment; but I preferred gentle methods to preserve peace and tranquillity along the East coast.

From the 15th to the 20th, I held different Cabars, and sent several emissaries to observe the motions of the enemy.

On the 21st, the new dwelling for the Governor was finished, and I went to reside there with the more

satisfaction, as I had long been very inconveniently lodged, and had felt the consequences in the effect it had on my health.

On the 22d, the Sambarive chiefs informed me, that the Seclaves had invited them to join them against the whites; but that their nation had answered, by sending them powder, ball, and gun flints (the signal of war), declaring at the same time, that the Sambarives had allied themselves to me with sincerity; that they considered my enemies as their enemies, and that they would not give the Seclaves the trouble of coming to them, because they intended to meet them. I gave an entertainment to this brave nation.

On the 23d, I was informed by my interpreter, that the Sambarives had sent several of their chiefs into different provinces, to engage the people to make war on the Seclaves. This brave nation gave public notice, that all those who did not join them should be considered as their enemies, and that their troops should carry flames and fire into their provinces. This mark of so eminent a degree of attachment affected me greatly, and I ardently wished for an opportunity of convincing this good people of my affection.

On the 14th, I learned positively, that the Fariavas and the Betalimenes had recommended the war against Hiavi, and that his own people mutinied against him, for having entered into an oath with the Seclaves. This news was soon followed by a demand on the part of Hiavi for assistance, which was what I expected.

On the 25th, the chiefs of the Antambours sent me word that several chiefs of the Seclaves, established upon their frontiers, had refused to take arms against the establishment; and that to avoid the rage of their King, a party of them had taken refuge amongst the Antambour, and others with Cunifaloues the chief, who had sent me this information, and was himself coming.

On the 29th, Diafaick, chief of the Machineranon,

and confidant of Hiavi, came to demand assistance against his enemies, at the same time that he complained that reports were current that I had abandoned Hiavi, for which reason it was absolutely necessary that I should declare in his favour, in order to appease the troubles and revolts which had been excited among his own subjects. I replied, that Hiavi had brought himself into the difficulties he now experienced; that he had himself given reasons for his enemies to declare against him a second time, in consequence of the league he had made with the Seclaves against the government; that his own proceeding had served as a warning to the Betalimenes and Fariavas, with regard to their behaviour, from whom it was that I had received information of all the intrigues of Hiavi. The chief Fauna, confounded at my answer, threw himself at my feet, begging pardon for Hiavi, and protesting that he would recall his master to his duty. In my definite answer, I insisted that Hiavi should send his brother to me with five hundred armed men, with orders to march against the Seclaves, and should publicly renounce the alliance of that nation. I promised, that in the mean time I would prevent his enemies from making any attempts against him, but that on the slightest appearance of refusal on his part, I would openly join his opponents.

It cannot easily be imagined, with what precaution I found it necessary to act with regard to the inhabitants of this island. Revolutions are so sudden, that to prevent them, I was forced to become an orator, to conform to the character of this nation. It was a very unhappy circumstance that I was without force; the smallest augmentation would have been sufficient to have enabled me to have effected whatever revolutions I thought proper; but having no more than one hundred men, and those exhausted by fatigue, they could not be able to guard one hundred and eighty leagues of coast,

which was the space contained by our different settlements. It was impossible therefore to remove so many obstacles as presented themselves, without employing stratagem or cabal; a situation very afflicting for a military man, when his operations can only be carried on in the cabinet in a tedious and disgraceful way.

February the 1st, a signal was hung out at the mountain, that a ship was in sight.

On the 2nd, the signal still appeared; but I discovered nothing but a small vessel, which seemed to be a banion, or the vessel of some person, whose wretched fortune required the assistance of piracy, or the employment of a spy.

On the 3d, the Antambour and Saphirobai chiefs came to declare to me, that being determined to give invariable proofs of their attachment to the establishment, they requested me to accept fifteen hundred armed men of their nation, to be employed against the Seclaves. Good news, exclaimed I, the example of my brave Sambarives will invite the other nations to imitate them.

A private vessel named the Lizard, anchored in the harbour, and the Captain, Mr. St. Etheard, made me an offer of his cargo on the King's account. It consisted of cloth, brandy, and sugar.

On the 8th, I received positive information of the march of the Seclaves, who directed their course towards our frontiers.

Between the 9th and 15th, I visited my posts, and saw that the artillery was in a proper situation for service.

My officers, being informed by the natives of the approach of the Seclaves, and perceiving their troops to be greatly weakened, were in no small consternation, and could not avoid repeating some of the circumstances to me; because as they saw me apparently at my ease, in such a critical situation, they imagined that I was unacquainted with the proceedings of our enemies.

From the 17th to the 23d, I cleared the environs of fort Louis, in order to discover the approach of the enemy more readily; and I was particularly busied in making fire balls, rockets, fuzees, and fire lances, in order to prevent the enemy from harrassing us.

On the 23d, the chiefs of the province, Antivarai and Angontzi, came to offer me five hundred warriors. This news afforded me some small comfort, and I began to collect myself against the unhappy events that threatened the establishment. The greatest part of the bad season was now over, and our sick were not so numerous as I expected.

The envoys of Lambouin, King of the North, arrived, and demanded an assembly. They declared on the part of their Prince, that he was already in the field to attack the Seclaves on his side, and waited only for my orders for that purpose. The desire of this chief to establish a constant trade with the settlement, in order to secure its protection, which was necessary to him against the Seclaves, and to preserve his authority, could not fail of being productive of the greatest advantage to the establishment.

On the 2d, I was informed of the arrival of envoys from the chief Cunifaloues, who informed me of the approach of their chief, together with Rozai, cousin of the King of the Seclaves, who was driven by his relation out of his native country, and probably came to take advantage of the present circumstances, and adapt them to his desire of revenge. After having shewn every sign of friendship to the envoys of the chief Cunifaloues, I sent several spies to meet him, in order to observe his conduct, and to prevent a surprize.

The chief Cunifaloues, possessor of the province of Santianak, had been tributary for the space of eighteen years to the Seclaves, who often had ravaged his province, under the specious pretence of collecting the tribute. I therefore had reason to think, that the

motive of his journey was founded on the hope of throwing off the subjection to the Seclaves, by the assistance of the establishment. The coincidence of this chief in my views promised greatly to diminish the forces of the Seclaves, because his example would lead others. Rozai, the chief of the Seclaves, who came with him, is of the reigning family of that nation, of which the father of the present King usurped the crown, after having rendered himself master of the country, by a sudden revolt of the inhabitants, and having without compassion, reduced the ancient royal family to servitude. I was assured that Rozai had many partizans in the nation, who, if they saw him at the head of some forces, would join his party. All these circumstances gave me reason to hope, that I might derive great advantages this year from a campaign, and I might have undoubtedly struck a fine stroke, if the supplies had arrived. As the war I am about to describe, relates to the country of the Seclaves, it may be proper to give a slight notion of that kingdom and nation.

### An Account of the Kingdom of the Seclaves, called Boyana.

March, 1776. The kingdom of the Seclaves extends from the Bay of Massaheli, on the West coast of Madagascar, lying between 40° 20′ and 42° longitude from Paris, and 14° and 16° South latitude, upon the same Western coast of the island. Here it must be observed, that this kingdom is not to be confounded with the ancient country of the Seclaves, which extends much further to the Southward, and no longer depends upon the same chief. The authority of the first chief of the Seclaves, who from time immemorial has possessed the title of King, is despotic. His whole people are slaves, and the chiefs who govern the different provinces,

are nominated by him. Their property and lives are in his hands. He always keeps an army of three thousand warriors on foot. His authority which he often abuses, renders him formidable to his unhappy people, who mortally hate him.

The Arabians of the islands Johanna, Comoro, and Mayotto, have established a factory at Maronvai, the capital of the Seclaves, which is at all times supplied with effects and merchandizes, consisting of Surat cloth, combs, silver bracelets, gold buckles, razors, knives, glass beads, &c. in exchange for which they receive skins, incense, benjamin, amber, wax, and wood in planks. The facility which the King of the Seclaves finds in the commerce of the Arabians, and that which he has hitherto found in obtaining arms, gunpowder, and brandy, from private ships, which touch at Madagascar, and which he receives in payment of tribute from different provinces on the Eastern coast, renders him averse to the establishment of a direct trade with the French. It may likewise be true, that the Arabians, jealous of our rival commerce, may have inspired him with sentiments contrary to the interests of the establishment. But, as since my arrival, all the provinces of the East coast have shaken off their yoke, and no longer supply them with arms and warlike stores, the Seclaves cannnot but be quickly reduced.

The country of the Seclaves enjoys a very wholesome air. It is flat, has few woods, and is watered with an infinity of fine rivers, and abounds with immense plains, inhabited by thousands of wild oxen, which belong to any one who can take them. The King of the Seclaves might raise an army of thirty thousand men, if he possessed the affections of his people; but upon the least appearance of war, it is usual for them to fly into the mountains, towards the Eastern coast. From these emigrations several different nations have been formed. Since my arrival in this island, I have always maintained

detachments, either in the country of the Seclaves, or on its frontiers, and they have experienced none of those disorders which prevail near the sea coast to the Eastward. For this reason I am convinced, that the Western coast would be more favourable to the Europeans. Such an advantage, added to that of possessing several excellent harbours, by which a communication might be formed with the coast of Africa, renders it highly deserving of the utmost exertions of a Governor established at this place, to secure this country; for which purpose nothing more is necessary than to engage the whole of the Eastern coast in his interest against the Seclaves. The happiest occasion now presented itself; for the King of the Seclaves, having declared war against the establishment, and its allies, it became unnecessary to confine ourselves to defensive operations. But the weakness and extreme wants of my troops, tended but too much to check my ardour.

A courier from Foul Point brought me the good news, that Hiavi had expressed the most sincere repentance at having entered into an oath with the Seclaves; and that in order to repair his fault, he had sent twelve hundred warriors to my assistance.

The chief Cunifaloues at length arrived on the 6th, I ordered the meeting to be held on the 8th, to which I invited the chiefs of the Sambarives, Saphirobai, Antambours, Antavacas, and Antavolisbei. When the assembly met Cunifaloues addressed me as follows: I write down the proper words of the discourse of the blacks, in order that those who succeed me might be familiarized with their expression. "I Cunifaloues, the unfortunate chief of the noble race of Santianak, being subjected by the laws of war to the Seclaves, come to render what I owe to the great warrior and great chief of the white men, whose name be blessed, and arm supported by the force of God. Being assured that the reports which were spread of the war, which the

Seclaves proposed to make against thee were true, I have hastened to offer thee my arm with those of my people. Dispose of our goods at thy pleasure. Thy will shall ever be mine, and that of my children. Deign to receive our oath, to assure thee that Cunifaloues acknowledges no other master but thyself."

This harangue was succeeded by a shout of joy, which the followers of this chief, consisting of about three hundred warriors, repeated several times. After which I made the following answer: "Thy reputation, my friend, and thy misfortunes, have long since assured thee of my protection. I am unacquainted with none of thy pretensions, and the just vengeance which thou entertainest against the usurper of the Seclaves; and thou mayest be assured that my arm shall support thine. But with regard to the submission thou hast made to me, I say that thou art in an error. Know then that it is not conformable to my principles, to reduce the brave nations of Madagascar to servitude. I demand only thy friendship towards myself; but I require thy attachment to the union which exists at this day, between the nations whose deputies are here assembled. My only intention is to inform thee of our interests; to explain the advantages of commerce, and of a well-established government, and to communicate light which may lead to happiness. If thou art resolved to unite in our common interests, thou wilt make an oath of fidelity to the union, and receive orders from my mouth, or the mouth of those who may succeed me."

The chief had scarcely heard my answer, before he demanded to enter into the oath of fidelity, obliging himself to pay to the establishment the same tribute which he had paid to the Seclaves, and offering one thousand warriors of his nation to be directed by my orders according to circumstances. Upon his declaration, I proceeded to the ceremony of the oath, which was performed with all the decency imaginable. It was

scarcely ended before Rozai, the chief of the Seclaves, who arrived with Cunifaloues, directed a second speech to me as follows: "I, Rozai, the unfortunate prince of Boyana, seeking amongst strangers a support against the injustice of the usurper of my kingdom, who, not content with having deprived me of my country, retains my wives and children in slavery, throw myself at thy knees for protection. The people say of thee, that thou callest thyself the father of the unhappy: Reject not then the prayer of a prince who reclaims thy assistance. As a proof of my submission, thou shalt receive my oath, and mayest depend on me from henceforth among the number of thy faithful friends."

The following was my answer: "I grant to the prince Rozai, who reclaims the protection of the establishment, and that of the united nations, the constant and permanent support of our arms, with so much the greater satisfaction, as his misfortunes plead in his favour; a plea which at all times has found a support against injustice and oppression. In the meantime, the prince Rozai may assure himself of our protection by oath."

After having thus satisfied the unfortunate chief, I addressed myself to him and the chief Cunifaloues, advising them to reflect well on what they had done, by connecting themselves under oath to the interests of the establishment, whose protection they had thereby secured as long as they should continue faithful to their engagements: But that, if they should have the misfortune to break their oaths, it would be no longer in my power to prevent the unhappy consequences which might result to them, their families, and subjects.

On the 9th, 10th, and 11th, the chiefs of the Eastern coast gave an entertainment to Cunifaloues and Rozai. My brave Sambarives particularly distinguished themselves. The chiefs, Cunifaloues and Rozai, afterwards required to be dismissed in order to take the field against the Seclaves. They informed me likewise, that

they should lose no time in sending emissaries into all the different provinces which were subject to the Seclaves, to engage them to join the part of Rozai, and demanded favour and protection for those who should enter into their league.

On the 12th, the chief Lambarault arrived with twelve armed boats and two hundred warriors. He informed me, that he came to the assistance of the establishment; that being the son of a white man, he was desirous of being one of the first in the combat; and that several of his subjects, who had returned from the country of the Seclaves, had reported to him that the enemy was no more than five days march from our frontiers; for which reason, if I would accept his assistance, he would go forth to reconnoitre them. I received this chief in a friendly manner, but for several reasons I kept him near me.

On the 13th, my interpreter informed me, that his people had reported, that the chiefs of the different provinces proposed to send deputies to me to inquire, whether my intention was to remain shut up till the arrival of the Seclaves, or whether I was afraid to go forth to meet them? They informed me likewise, that all the chiefs had the most unbounded confidence in me; but that they were apprehensive that by remaining simply on the defensive, I should sacrifice the provinces to the outrages of the Seclaves. This report determined me to avail myself of the state of affairs, to engage all the coast in my interest, whose chiefs would join me with so much the greater readiness in the field, as by fighting the Seclaves, their possessions would be defended from their ravages.

I was thus at length engaged again, in an important affair, which required a decision, whether without support or assistance from the Europeans, with a handful of men, I should undertake an operation of the greatest consequence. Fortunately, however, the

unhealthy season was over, and my troops were in sufficient health to make up by their courage, for the unfortunate position they were in.

On the 14th, the Sambarive chiefs waited upon me, and presented to me several deputies of the different provinces, which their nation had sent to inform me, that they were all ready to take the field, and waited only for my naming the day on which they were to join me. Upon which I replied, that having forces more than sufficient about me to prevent the Seclaves from continuing their hostilities upon my frontiers, I had at first resolved not to engage my allies to follow me, lest the cultivation of their lands might be interrupted; but that being unable any longer to resist their pressing instances and voluntary offers, I should accept their assistance to partake with them the glory of having punished the Seclaves; and that in consequence I should dispatch my couriers, to inform the whole coast of my resolutions to take the field at the end of the following month; to march directly to the enemy, and force them to come to battle.

I had hardly concluded my answer, when they all with one voice cried out, "The Seclaves shall be vanquished, and become our slaves." The rest of the day was consumed in dancing and war songs. For my own part, I was rather uneasy. I found myself on the point of becoming engaged in a serious affair, without the assistance or orders of the Court, which might at that moment be ready to decide upon giving up the establishment, and recalling my troops, in consequence of the false reports which the chief of the isle of France had made. Three years had already past without my having received the smallest order relative to my service.

On the 15th, after many deliberations, I at last determined to declare war against the Seclaves; and to order all the chiefs to repair to the standard at the end of April, with their principal warriors.

On the 20th, I commanded all my officers to assemble at fort Louis, to hold a council on the 1st of April, in order that I might have no reason to reproach myself in an enterprize of such delicacy, the engaging in which might be imputed to me as a fault by my adversaries. The Mozambiques made great progress in this exercise, and began to be used to the noise, as well as manœuvres of the guns. In order that the pieces might be the better served, I appointed a cannonier to each, from among my volunteers, with one workman and four Mozambiques. I had nine pieces ready for service, two of which carried a pound ball. I had great reason to be satisfied with the progress of the Mozambiques, for on the 25th, they worked the guns very well, without any assistance or command from the Europeans.

On the 27th, my spies having returned from the Seclaves, reported, that the enemy had halted in the province of Antanquins, to wait for the junction of a strong party; that their design was to fall directly on the establishment, and in the mean time to ravage the frontiers, whose inhabitants had taken refuge in the woods, and waited only for our arrival to join us.

On the 1st of April, a general assembly of the corps was held, in which it was concluded, that the troops should be formed into two divisions, one under the order of the Chevalier de Sanglier, Captain of the corps, and Commander in my absence, which should be appointed to guard our posts at Louisbourgh, fort St. John, and fort Augustus; while the other should immediately take the field under my orders, and carry the war to the frontiers of the Seclaves, in order to check them, until supplies or the orders which I expected, might arrive. Immediately after this decision of council, I displayed the red flag as the signal of war well known in this island.

On the 2d, I was busied in exercising my troops.

The artillery was well served, and there were very few of my volunteers on whom I could not depend for bringing down his man at the distance of two hundred paces, which assured me that I should give a good account of my enemies; but, in order that the campaign might not be carried on in a confused manner, I appointed the following order [*see next page*], in which is included the whole force under my command, consisting of four thousand one hundred and thirteen men, in three divisions, which I called the forces of the establishment.

Such were the forces with which I proceeded to take the field; but it must be observed, that my three divisions were to be reinforced with the troops our allies were obliged to furnish; that is to say, for the right division, three thousand six hundred natives; for the centre, five thousand; for the left, three thousand six hundred; which on the whole, amounted to not less than sixteen thousand three hundred and thirteen men.

On the 3d, I was busied in drawing out orders for Mr. de Sanglier, Commander in my absence, in order that he might conform to my intentions in every thing which related to the security of the posts entrusted to his care. I left with him seventy-six white men, with four officers, one hundred and twenty Mozambiques, and six hundred and eighty Malgagos, which was a sufficient number to defend the posts under his command.

On the 4th, I established a camp in the plain, at the distance of one league from Louisbourg, with a view to habituate my troops to obedience of orders. From this place it was, that I this day sent my orders to the chiefs of our allies, to repair at the end of the month to Hirbay, near Mananhar, at the distance of fifteen leagues from the plain, where I then was. I made choice of this place of rendezvous on account of

| *The Left.* Commander. | | *The Centre.* Commander. | | *The Right.* Commander. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mr. le Cerf, Captain - | 1 | Baron de Benyowsky - | 1 | De Melandre, Captain - | 1 |
| — Corbi, Lieutenant - | 1 | Chev. de la Tour, Lieut. | 1 | De la Bouillage, Lieut. - | 1 |
| Le Maitre, Interpreter - | 1 | Evali, Ensign - - | 1 | Diard, Interpreter - | 1 |
| D'Ecole, Interpreter - | 1 | Mayeur, Interpreter - | 1 | Volunteers - - - | 72 |
| Volunteers - - - | 112 | Volunteers - - - | 64 | Artillery, three Pieces, Served by | |
| Artillery, three Pieces, Served by | | Artillery, three Pieces, Served by | | M. de la Min. - - | 1 |
| Cannoniers - - - | 3 | Cannoniers - - - | 4 | Cannoniers - - - | 2 |
| Mozambique Commanders | 2 | Mozambique Commanders | 2 | Mozambique Commanders | 2 |
| Mozambique Slaves - | 6 | Mozambique Slaves - | 6 | Mozambique Slaves - | 6 |
| Malgagos Commanders - | 2 | Malgagos Commanders - | 2 | Malgagos Commanders - | 2 |
| Malgagos Warriors - | 1000 | Malgagos Warriors - | 1800 | Malgagos Warriors - | 1000 |
| | 1129 | | 1822 | | 1088 |

*In the Hospital Service.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Popengui, Surgeon-Major - - - - - | 1 |
| His Aide Major - - - - - - | 1 |
| Mozambique Slaves - - - - - | 12 |
| Total of the Divisions - - | 4113 Men. |

the facility of procuring subsistence for sixteen thousand men, whose supplies would have exhausted the magazines of the establishment.

On the 10th, my envoys returned, and assured me that all the chiefs were ready to march, and would be at Hirbay before me. On the same day the Sambarives gave a great festival of war, according to the custom of the country. The Saphirobai did the same, and nothing was seen but fires through the whole extent of the coast.

On the 11th, I made up my packets for the Minister, to whom I gave an account of my operations.

From the 12th to the 15th, I was employed in making my final visits to the posts.

On the 16th, being desirous of accelerating my march as much as possible, I caused all the boats to be repaired for the transport of the artillery and ammunition. My allies had engaged to send sixty other boats for the transport of my troops; so that I had reason to hope that I might set sail on the 30th, and arrive at Hirbay on the 2d of May, from which place I had determined to depart on the 4th, with a view to reach the other side of the mountains on the 8th or 9th, and offer battle to the enemy on the 10th or 11th. The rest of the campaign would depend on their decision, or rather on the orders of the Court, which I waited for, and the uncertain tenor of which obliged me not to proceed too far in the present juncture.

On the 18th, being the eve of my departure, and my determination being made, nothing remained but to follow it. Adieu then to reflections; for when a military adventure is once begun, it must be followed with spirit.

This day Mulem, the brother of Hiavi, arrived, with twelve hundred and fifty warriors, to remain subject to my orders; these were intended to form my guard, and Hiavi had distinguished himself by selecting young

men, among whom there was not one under five feet eight inches in height.

On the 20th, two couriers from the North informed me, that the chiefs of the provinces of Antimananhar, Angontzi, and Antiamak, were already on their march with three thousand warriors, one half of whom were coming by land, and the other half in boats. They assured me likewise, that these chiefs had made an oath not to quit my colours, until Cimanour, King of the Seclaves, was made prisoner of war. D'Ecole, my interpreter, was at the head of this army.

The preparations for the campaign, and the movements I was obliged to make, will not permit me to continue my memoir regularly from day to day, I shall therefore resume it after my return.

### History of the War against the Seclaves.

I set sail with my little squadron, composed of one hundred and ninety-three boats of the country, on the 30th of April, and stopped at the isle d'Aiguillon, where I inspected the loading, and rectified the considerable inequalities I found in the several boats.

May the 1st, 1776. We set sail for Manambia, distant seven leagues from Louisburgh, where I found a very agreeable plain to pitch my camp. In the evening of the same day, I received a visit from the chiefs of the place. The principal chief, named Tacalounin, presented me with three hundred warriors to follow me, and also with six boats loaded with provisions, and thirty oxen.

May the 2d. I raised my camp, and sailed for Tanson, where, on my arrival in the evening, I found the troop of Tacalounis already encamped, and supplied with provisions and cattle. At the close of the night the chiefs of this country came to salute me; they brought us ten boats, loaded with provisions, and

drink made of honey and melasses, with three hundred young men for the military service.

On the 3d, just as I was embarking to continue my journey, I received envoys from Cunifaloues, who informed me that there were several parties of the Seclaves about, who only waited for a favourable instant to surprize me. They assured me likewise, that their chiefs were already in the field, but that they were greatly apprehensive that the Seclaves, whose forces were much superior to theirs, would attack them with advantage before my arrival. After I had heard the report of these envoys, I ordered them to follow me; and to prevent my troop of blacks, who conveyed our provision, from being surprized in some of the defiles, I ordered Mr. de Malendre, Captain and Commander of the right division, to protect them with his troop.

After this precaution I embarked, and continued my route towards Hirbay; but the wind blowing strong a-head, forced me to anchor at Fontzimarou. One of my boats, loaded with artillery, struck on a rock and sunk; another was bulged, and several others run aground, which obliged me to leave the left division behind, to recover the cannon and their carriages, and bring them to Hirbay. The chiefs of the place supplied me with divers, and boats to conduct my division to the rendezvous, where we arrived in safety on the 4th. But I had scarcely time to pitch my camp, before several blacks informed me that the division commanded by Mr. Malendre, had been attacked by the Seclaves. In consequence of this news, I detached twelve boats, with a part of my troop and Malgagos, to their assistance. They soon returned with the information, that they had discovered the division on its march, at a small distance from us, and that the troops appeared undisturbed. These last arrived likewise about midnight, safe and sound; and their Commander informed me, that he had indeed been attacked by the Seclaves in a

defile; but that the enemy had always kept at a very great distance firing at his party, though their shot could not reach him; and that he, perceiving that to be the case, had preferred marching straight to me, instead of stopping to cause any embarrassment.

On the 5th, my left division at last arrived, and all my people were then together. The number of warriors which the chiefs had promised me, increased every day, and the continual consumption of provisions becoming an object of great consequence, obliged me to quicken my operations.

On the 7th, I sent back the envoys of Cunifaloues, to inform him of my march; and on the same day I received information, from a party whom I had sent upon the scout, that the Seclaves had disappeared, and had withdrawn towards the frontier of the province of Antonguin.

Upon this report, I sent my right division to clear the passage of the mountains, and soon afterwards followed them with my whole army. With much fatigue and difficulty, we passed the mountains Vohibey. Our pieces of artillery, mounted on carriages, were very ill calculated for service in such mountainous and irregular countries as this. I should have been much better satisfied, if they had been mounted on swivels, after the manner of pateraroes.

After I had passed the mountains, I encamped near the river called Mananhar, where I was joined by the chiefs Antimogols, Antivoieson, Antivohibey, and the Sambarives. Their number amounted to near four thousand men, well armed.

In this place I rested my troops two days; and after having established a store of provisions in the place, and appointed a party of my left division for a guard, I raised my camp, and marched in three columns, through a wood of six leagues extent from East to West. When I came out of the wood I discovered the camp of my first

division, and three other camps of the Seclaves posted opposite them. But as all my people were fatigued, I determined to remain in the skirts of the wood, that I might not be discovered by the enemy, whom I proposed to attack as soon as my army had taken some repose. To this effect I acquainted the Commander of the first division with my intention, in order that he might not be alarmed at a brisk attack on my part.

At three in the morning, I established a rear guard for the securing of our equipage, and marched directly to the first camp of the enemy. At sun rise, I was within cannon shot of them. At my approach, they arranged themselves in several divisions at the head of their camp, where they appeared disposed to receive us, and immediately began to fire. The black troops of our allies, notwithstanding my prohibition, answered their fire, which obliged me to bring forward my cannon. Twenty shot from these put the enemy to flight, and caused them to abandon their first camp, which I passed without stopping, and proceeded to the second, which I found in the hands of my first division.

The enemy perceiving their two camps destroyed, quitted the third of themselves, which was soon consumed by the flames. This affair cost the Seclaves eighty men killed, and fifty wounded, who were made prisoners, while none of my party were hurt, excepting a few natives, who were wounded. The allied chiefs, encouraged by this success, demanded permission to chase the enemy; and I agreed to their request with great willingness, as their Cabars or assemblies had become very chargeable.

After the departure of the blacks, I advanced my camp into an agreeable plain, filled with orange trees, banana trees, and cardomom plants.

On the 14th, the chief Cunifaloues joined me with fifteen hundred warriors. He told me that the Seclaves, who had fled, had spread a report every where, that it

was not the white men who vanquished them, but devils which were mixed among them, and had vomited dreadful flames upon their army.

On the 17th, several parties of the Seclaves arrived, and intreated forgiveness; at the same time that they begged that I would come into their province to defend them from the ravages of my black allies.

On the 18th, I dispatched Mr. de Malendre to Antonguin, in order to restrain the allied chiefs within the limits of discipline; and the same evening I raised my camp to proceed in person to the province of Antonguin.

On the 19th, I came in sight of a village of the Antongueze, composed of about five hundred houses well pallisaded, and defended by a ditch. Beyond the village, I discovered six camps, which the chiefs of our allies had established. For my part, I rather chose to form my camp on the side where I was, in order to enjoy a state of tranquillity, which must be entirely renounced on mixing with the natives.

On the 20th, all the chiefs of my party waited upon me to congratulate me, and to give me a pompous account of their warlike exploits. They assured me, that the Seclaves, not thinking proper to rally upon their frontiers, had fled as far as the Western coast of the island.

On the 22d, the chief of Antonguin, named Tihenbato, came to my camp in person, having his head and beard shaved in token of submission. He intreated forgiveness for having followed the Seclaves, and immediately entered into the oath of fidelity, acknowledging his province to be conquered: at the same time that he requested it should be entrusted to him on condition of his paying an annual tribute. It was from this chief that I obtained more particular information concerning the Seclaves, which convinced me that the King of that nation was cured of the desire of making war upon the

Europeans. He also informed me, that the King of the Seclaves had sent envoys to Hiavi, to request his intercession with me to procure peace at any rate.

Some days afterwards I received envoys from the King of the Seclaves, who proposed a treaty of peace; but as I did not think proper to consent, I dismissed them with the simple answer, that the chiefs of the Seclaves ought not to ask for peace, but pardon; that I proposed to stay in the province to allow them time to make their determination, and that their King ought not to hesitate in submitting himself to the laws established among the chiefs of the Eastern coast.

After the departure of these envoys, I remained encamped on the spot, until the end of the month; during which time I sent several officers to make discoveries in the country. Their reports convinced me more and more of the expediency of forming an establishment in this charming, rich and agreeable country; but being without forces and supplies, I had no power to act.

June the 1st, 1776. I received advice from M. le Cerf, Commander of the left division, that certain blacks who came from Louisbourg, had assured him, that they saw two ships enter the harbour. This news gave me great encouragement.

On the 5th, the long expected courier at last arrived with packets from the Court, in which I learned with inexpressible satisfaction, that the Minister had sent from France his Majesty's vessel la Sirenne, with ammunition, provisions and money for trade; and that this supply would soon be followed by others of greater importance. But alas, my joy was of short duration; for on the other hand, I learned by the dispatches from the isle of France, that the corvette was lost to the Southward of fort Dauphin, and consequently, that I could expect no supplies. And to crown the whole, the Minister, in a private letter, informed me, that his

Majesty had reserved the communication of his intentions with regard to Madagascar, until the end of the year; for which reason I must confine my operations to the preservation of the posts, &c.

All these events tended only to encrease my solicitude, and more especially as my presence was become necessary at Louisbourg, I found myself forced to suspend my military operations. I therefore assembled my officers, in order to come to a final decision respecting the steps proper to be taken in our present situation.

On the 6th, I held a council, and conformably to its decision, I determined to return to Louisbourg, leaving my troops under the orders of Mr. de Malendre, with all our black allies, whom I persuaded to remain satisfied with the advantages and the victory gained over our enemies. The chiefs Cunifaloues and Rozai, alone were discontented, because they feared the resentment of the Seclaves; but I encouraged them, by a promise under oath, to come to their assistance as soon as ever I should hear that the Seclaves marched against them. Cunifaloues was at last satisfied with my promise; but the unfortunate prince Rozai was inconsolable, and declared that he would quit me no more, because as he had once had recourse to me, all his hopes depended on the alliance of the Europeans. As I saw this chief was so greatly oppressed with his misfortunes, I promised to send to the Seclaves to reclaim his wives, his children, and all his family; and assured him, that he might depend on receiving speedy satisfaction in this respect. This assurance set his mind at ease.

On the 7th, I distributed presents to the chiefs, and likewise divided the captures we had made; and after having secured the submission of the province of Antonguin, I departed on my way to Louisbourg.

On the 8th, at the close of day, I began my march, and on the 12th, I arrived at Louisbourg, where my

time was entirely taken up in preparing my dispatches for the Minister, excepting only that I was occasionally interrupted by the festivals which the chiefs gave to their people, in celebration of our victory over the enemy.

On the 21st, his Majesty's corvette the Iphigenia, set sail on her return to the isle of France.

On the 26th, a squadron of boats appeared in sight, directing their course towards the harbour.

On the 22d, the squadron anchored in the harbour, and were received by my whole troop with shouts of joy. The same evening the black troops landed, and established their camp round Louisbourg. Mr. de Malendre informed me, that after my departure he had received envoys from the Seclaves, who, in the name of their King, had proposed preliminaries to a treaty of peace; but as he had no authority from me to act in a business of that nature, he informed them that their King might be convinced by my sudden departure, that I was not disposed to carry on the war against them with efficacy; and that consequently, he would do well to send envoys directly to me, to take advantage of my good disposition towards them, and bring this affair to a termination, in which he would certainly succeed, if, as a mark of good faith, he should send the family of the Prince Rozai to me. My officer likewise informed me, that the envoys were very well satisfied with his answer, and immediately returned; and that the whole of the allied chiefs had exactly obeyed his commands. The rest of the month was consumed in entertainments, which greatly diminished the stock of liquor I had purchased, and imported from the isle of France.

On the 1st of July, all the chiefs refused to depart for their provinces with their troops, and declared that they had reasons for not leaving me at that moment.

From the 2nd to the 9th, I was employed in visiting the posts, while my troops who had returned from the campaign, availed themselves of the time I had granted to rest themselves after their fatigue.

On the 10th, I divided my troops to encrease the garrisons of my posts, and caused the different materials for building to be collected.

On the 11th, Mr. Mayeur, my principal interpreter, having been charged by me to discover the reason why the chiefs had determined not to quit me, informed me, that Hiavi had received a letter from the isle of France, by which he understood that I was to be relieved, and sent to France to take my trial; and that the brother of Hiavi, having communicated this news to several of the chiefs, they had determined to oppose by force all those who might attempt to carry such a design into execution. This information, which convinced me of the sincere attachment of the whole nation, afforded me some consolation in my disgrace; but was not sufficient to dispel my disagreeable reflections.

On the 12th, several bodies of the natives from the Seclaves, requested permission to establish themselves on the territory of the establishment, subject to its regulations, I granted them the lands on the left branch of the river of Tingballe. The power of this province daily increasing, I could easily perceive that it will hereafter possess one third of the population of the island.

From the 18th to the 19th I made an excursion on the business of discovery, into the interior parts of the island to the northward, where I found several considerable rivers, between the chain of the mountains of Ramangasi and Volisbey, at the feet of which I found various minerals, and very fine rock crystals, some of which were coloured.

August 1, 1776. As the tranquillity of the country

afforded me that repose which I had not experienced hitherto, I visited the habitations and settlements, which I found in good order and cultivation. I therefore determined to allot lands to the individuals for the formation of villages. Several soldiers and others requested grants, which I accordingly made out, to the number of sixty-four.

On the 3d, I assembled the chiefs, and represented to them, that their residence on the spot tended to exhaust the country; and observed, that if they were absolutely determined to reside near me, I would advise them to send back their people into their provinces, as they would always have time to collect them together. In consequence of this insinuation, they demanded when I expected vessels to arrive from Europe; and as I could not answer positively, they requested me not to make any proposal to them for their departure, as in this affair, they only followed the impulse of their friendship for me, and were determined to perish, rather than quit me.

On the 9th, I received news that a private ship was lost to the northward; I therefore sent his Majesty's vessel, the Coureur, to collect the people, and bring them to Louisbourg.

On the 14th, I was informed of the arrival of envoys from the Seclaves, who presented to me the family of the Prince Rozai, as a proof of the good disposition of that nation. These envoys likewise presented three hundred oxen, and sixty slaves, in the name of their nation, and demanded that I would make oath not to enter into a war against them in future. I accepted the presents, and received the family of Rozai with pleasure; but the promise not to make war, being an engagement which related to the interests of the settlement, I replied, that I was ready to enter into such an oath, provided the King of the Seclaves would likewise make the same, and give assurances that he would accede

to the union of the chiefs and people of the east coasts, and would acknowledge himself a member of that union, and subject to its decisions. I moreover insisted, that he should permit the free entrance of all merchandize sent from the establishments into his country, for the purpose of carrying on an uninterrupted commerce with his people; and as the preservation and safe keeping of merchandize required particular care, that he should permit me to build in proper places, store-houses, which might serve as places of entertainment to my troops, and to travellers. The envoys replied, that they could make no stipulations in these respects, but that they would depart without delay, to inform their master of my intentions, in order that he might determine how to act. When these envoys were about to depart, I loaded them with presents; and they promised me, upon their oath, to use every exertion to induce their master to accept my propositions, and attach himself entirely to me.

On the 16th, the Sieur Mayeur informed me that the chiefs Raoul, Manding, Raffangour, and Ramaraombe, demanded an audience, as deputies from their nations. This extraordinary communication, which had been hitherto unusual, gave me some surprise: in consequence of which I immediately granted the audience, and rose up to meet them, as I supposed they were already on their way. But the Sieur Mayeur informed me, that the said chiefs were still in their camp, busied in preparations to present themselves in ceremony; and that he would go and acquaint them, with my permission. Immediately after his departure, I invited several officers of the troops, and of the administrations, to be present at my audience, which seemed likely to be productive of consequences; for the manner in which the deputies were announced to me, convinced me that they had some affair of importance to propose, and in this I was not deceived. About ten, the guard of the fort discovered

two bodies of armed troops, marching in columns, with drums beating and colours flying, and called out to arms; but the officer of the guard being in the secret, as I afterwards learned, did not oppose their march, but only challenged them, and sent a report to me. I soon discovered the troop myself, which consisted of 1,200 men, with the chiefs and deputies at their head, preceded by the standards of their provinces. On their arrival at the parade before the Governor's house, after they were drawn out, and had grounded their arms, the deputies advanced towards the hall, where they were received and conducted to me by my officers. After the first salutation, I caused seats, which consisted of low chairs, used in this country on occasions of ceremony, to be presented to the chiefs; three seated themselves, but the chief Raffangour remained standing, and spoke the following words, which I here give accurately:

"Blessed be the day which brought thee into the "world. Blessed be thy parents, who have taken care "of thy infancy; and blessed be the hour in which "thou didst set thy foot upon our island.

"The Malgagos chiefs and captains, whose hearts "thou hast gained, who love thee, and are faithfully "attached to thee, have received information that the "French King intends to appoint another in thy place; "and that he is angry with thee because thou hast re- "fused to deliver us to his slavery: they have therefore "met, and have held cabars, to decide upon the manner "in which they should act, if this should prove true. "Their love and their attachment for thee, have obliged "me, in this circumstance, to reveal to thee the secret "of thy birth, and thy rights over this immense country, "all whose people adore thee. Yes, I myself, Raffangour, "reputed the sole survivor of the family of Ramini, I "have renounced this sacred right, to declare thee the "only true inheritor of Ramini. The spirit of God, "which reigns over our cabars, caused all the chiefs

" and captains to make oath, that they would acknow-
" ledge thee their Ampansacabe; that they would no
" more quit thee, but preserve thy person, at the price
" of their lives, against all the violence of the French."

After this declaration he sat down, and caused the chief Raoul to rise, and deliver his message, which was as follows.

" I, Raoul, chief of the Saphirobai, sent to thee by
" the chiefs and captains of several nations, demand,
" that thou wilt grant to-morrow, a public cabar, to
" render thee homage of our fidelity and obedience. I
" am likewise charged to request, that thou wilt not
" display the white standard, but the blue, in sign that
" thou heartily acceptest our submission.

" The chiefs and captains, assembled in cabar, have
" likewise commissioned me to request, that thou wilt
" keep the officers and soldiers at a distance from the
" place in which this cabar shall be held; and that, in
" the mean time, thou wilt keep, as a guard, the twelve
" hundred warriors, which the nation will constantly
" maintain around thee."

After this exposition, he likewise seated himself, in expectation of my answer. This unforeseen proceeding was not a little embarrassing: but as I was desirous of time to reflect, and form proper combinations, I immediately replied, that I should with pleasure see the chiefs and nations united in cabar, and that I would then declare my sentiments in public. In the mean time, I requested them to remain convinced of my friendship for them, my zeal for their interests, and my readiness to make any sacrifice for the good of the nation.

My answer was satisfactory to them, and they all prostrated themselves before they quitted me; a mark of submission which no chief had hitherto shewn. After their departure, I examined Mr. Mayeur respecting the causes which had produced this revolution

among the chiefs; but he excused himself, and said that several of my officers knew more of the business than himself. During my conversation with the Sieur Mayeur, I perceived three officers, who came at the head of fifty men, and declared, that having learned what steps had been taken at the isle of France, they had all determined to give up their lives, rather than see me quit the island; that with regard to themselves, as they were connected with the natives, they had determined to fix their abode on the island, and therefore requested that I would no longer consider them as soldiers, but as men devoted to my interests. This direct proceeding on the part of officers of distinction, embarrassed me still more. It was in vain that I desired them to reflect on what they were about; and observed, that I could not but blame them for persisting in a resolution of such delicacy: for they replied, that as they had taken the step, they could not now go back; that, being connected with the interests of the chiefs, and particularly attached to me, they would carry their design into execution, whether I approved it or not. On this occasion they repeated the conduct of the minister against me; insisted upon the intrigues and cabals which the Government of the isle of France had employed, to induce the natives to cut us off; and they concluded, that what had passed was sufficient to justify their conduct. The manner in which all this was said, left me no hope of dissuading them. I therefore directed my discourse principally to induce them to remain steady in their duty, and promised to get their discharges, in order that they might attach themselves to the country, without having any cause to reproach themselves. One of the officers informed me, that I should not find ten soldiers who would quit Madagascar; and that even among the officers, there were not above two or three who were not of their mind. This information convinced me that the connivance of

the troops with the chiefs, arose from the habitude they had contracted of living with the natives of the country, during the preceding campaign, against the Seclaves.

After the departure of the troops, I employed myself in forming a plan to appease these people, and to take the best advantage of the favourable disposition which the natives of the country had shewn towards me. This plan naturally led me to that of civilizing the Madagascar nations. Towards the evening I gave orders for covering the floor of the hall of cabar, and to make every preparation for celebrating a festival at the breaking up of the meeting.

On the 17th, in the morning, twenty-one guns were fired from the fort, without displaying the standard; but on the great flag-staff before my house a blue flag was displayed, agreeably to my orders. I gave directions that all the troops should remain in the fort. At seven, a detachment of six hundred blacks arrived, and formed a square about the hall. At nine, the chiefs quitted the camp, with all their people, to come to the cabar. On their arrival upon the parade, they sent twelve chiefs to me, with the same number of standards, to conduct me. As I was ready, I followed them; but before I entered the cabar, I went to the chiefs, to thank them for their politeness and attention. Sixty-two chiefs were seated in cabar, and their attendants remained under arms, in order. The first chief who spoke, was Manonganon, to the following effect:

"We, the princes and captains, who are assembled, "and represent the whole nation, being determined by "the rights of thy birth, by thy wisdom, and by thy "affection for us, do declare at this instant, that we "acknowledge thee for our Ampansacabe, and intreat "thee to accept this title and rank, with the assurance "of finding fidelity, affection, and constancy in our "hearts.

"Answer us."

I then arose, and replied, that the same zeal which the whole nation had acknowledged me to possess for their welfare, induced me to accept their offer, in the hope that the princes, chiefs, and captains of the nation, would always assist me in the great enterprize of civilization.

I then explained to them the advantages which they, and more especially their children, would derive from the establishment of a solid government. I addressed myself to their passions, by displaying that immortality with which their names would be transmitted to posterity, in consequence of their having established wise and humane laws; and enlarged on that glory which the Madagascar nation would possess in future times. But that which affected them most strongly, was the display of advantages which a well-directed commerce, supported by an effectual cultivation of their lands, could not but procure in a very short time. In fact, this part of my speech, relating to a subject which was best known by the people of Madagascar, was naturally the best calculated to produce the most effect upon their minds.

As soon as I had finished my harangue, the chiefs deputed a captain to announce my nomination to the people; immediately after which the discharges of musquetry began and continued near a quarter of an hour. As soon as tranquillity was restored, a second chief, named Sancé, spoke, and informed me that his nation required me to quit the service of the King of France, and to cause all those to quit the same service who were desirous of fixing their residence at Madagascar. And lastly, that I would declare what province I chose for the place of my residence, in order that they might build a town. When I perceived that he spoke no more, I replied, that it was my intention to quit the service of France, and to cause all those who were desirous of remaining at Madagascar likewise to quit

it; but that I could not carry this design into execution before the arrival of his Majesty's commissaries; for which reason, I requested the cabar to defer the performances of the oath, because, as I was hitherto engaged in the service of the King, I was not yet master of my actions. With regard to the town in question, I expressed my opinion, that it would be most convenient to fix it in the centre of the island, that I might be as near as possible to each province: and in order to render them better acquainted with my intentions, I declared to them, that having accepted the charge of Ampansacabe, my first duty would be to establish good laws, to maintain peace and tranquillity throughout the land, and to defend the country from foreign invasions; after which, my attention would be directed to the establishment of commerce in the most flourishing state, by increasing cultivation; but that all these things could not be done simply by my will alone, but that I depended upon the assistance of the chiefs of the nation, some of whom would be nominated to the council, others to governments, others to the departments of war, the marine, &c.

This discourse led the chiefs to propose a variety of questions and it required much conversation to make them comprehend the true sense of what I said. I succeeded at last in this, and several of them prostrated themselves, and thanked me for having inspired them with the disposition to form a resolution of nominating me their Ampansacabe.

The third chief who spoke, was Diamandriss. He observed, that the French would be angry with me for quitting them, and that consequently a war might be expected on their part; on which business he requested my opinion.

My reply was, that the King of France had a power over me during the whole time I should continue in his service; but the moment I should quit his service,

I should be my own master. I admitted the truth, that the French might probably become jealous, when they saw the island of Madagascar formed into a solid government; but that I should be sorry for them if they should adopt the plan of acting by force against a whole nation. I observed likewise, that in a case of this nature, I had a plan to propose in due time, which would secure a solid friendship between the French and the Madagascar nations. Here the chief Raffangour interrupted me, by observing, that the French could never be good friends with the Madagascar nation, as they must constantly recollect several massacres of their nation on this island.

Raffangour ended the cabar, by proposing, that an oath should be mutually entered into only between me and the chiefs, with the declaration that it should be publickly repeated as soon as I should quit the service of France. This oath was immediately made; and in order to render it more sacred, it was confirmed by the oath of blood. The oath is performed by opening the skin of the left breast with a razor, and each of the assistants sucks a drop of the blood of him who is received as chief; at which ceremony maledictions and imprecations are pronounced against him who shall fail in his engagement.

After the oath, the chiefs commissioned the chief Sancé to command their troops, and to be watchful that, on the arrival of the King's commissaries, no attempts should be made against my person. Before the cabar broke up, the chief Sancé went out, doubtless for the purpose of informing the troops and people how to behave. He sent word by one of his captains, that all was ready; whereupon we went forth. At my coming forth, the troops lowered their colours, and the Madagascar soldiers, having their musquets pointing downwards, laid their left hands on their breasts, in

sign of engagement, or oath. As I understood that there were near eleven thousand men assembled in cabar, I ordered twenty oxen to be killed, and gave them twelve casks of brandy. With respect to the chiefs, I entertained them alone. The troops having at last received permission to come out of the fort, followed their officers, to compliment me upon the performance of what they called an agreement of union and harmony between the establishment and the chiefs of the country.

The Sieur D'Ecole, my second interpreter, observed to me, that all those of the troops who had blue ribbons on their white cockades had determined to fix their residence at Madagascar. The rest of the day was employed in rejoicing. Towards the evening, near twelve hundred women and girls presented themselves upon the parade, in compliment to me, where they afterwards amused themselves by dancing. I presented them all with handkerchiefs, ribbons, and brandy with sugar.

On the 18th I convened the chiefs, and proposed to them to return into their respective provinces, to their families, except six, whom I was desirous of having near me, to assist in quality of counsellors. The chief Sancé, who was to remain, encamped with three thousand men, subject to my orders. This precaution appeared to me to be more particularly necessary, as a merchant, who come from Foul Point, and arrived at this port, had assured me, that it was published in the isle of France, that orders had been given for arresting me, and sending me home to be judged criminally.

Between the 19th and 22d, my time was continually employed in taking leave of the chiefs, who agreed that they would assemble the moment they should perceive fires lighted at Mangabey. Every chief engaged to forward the execution of this signal,

by lighting several fires on the coast, or upon the mountain.

On the 23d, I at length arrived at that tranquillity I had so much desired since my settling on the island. I saw the whole east coast perfectly united to the establishment, and the western coast ready to join in the same common interest. The cultivation of the country being every where doubled, afforded a promise of real advantage; and nothing was wanting but a more ample supply from home, in order to take advantage of the happy situation of affairs. But, unfortunately, the most proper time for establishing the colonists was suffered to elapse, and I saw myself, with grief, reduced to the simple movements of an Automaton. I had, besides, every reason to be apprehensive of the consequences of the prejudices excited against me; for I could attribute the retardation of the supplies only to the false reports which the administration of the isle of France had forwarded to the Court, respecting the establishment at Madagascar; and I had reason to fear that the ministry, being prejudiced by the reports, might defer the supplies, for no other purpose than that of ruining me. I likewise saw the principles upon which I had founded the settlement at Madagascar reduced naturally, by the want of force, to a crisis, which led the natives to a knowledge of their own strength, and to form a government amongst themselves, which, when once established, would no longer permit them to suffer a foreign force to reside amongst them. The first step towards this resolution being made, if the minister has executed the plan which was announced to me, France cannot fail of seeing herself deprived of all the advantages which were acquired by commerce and friendship with the natives of the country.

On the 27th, a private vessel, the St. Vincent, commanded by the Sieur Blanchard, arrived from the

isle of France, laden with articles of trade from India, which were well calculated for the trade of barter for rice. I therefore directed the store-keeper to purchase his cargo, for the use of the establishment. I could not dispense with this proceeding, because I durst not give up trading with the natives; because the consequences would undoubtedly have been a neglect of the cultivation of the country, if the regular trade had been interrupted.

On the 10th, the ship Desire entered the harbour, with the news that Messrs. Bellecombe and Chevreau had already arrived at the isle of France, on board his Majesty's frigate the Consolante, and that these gentlemen had orders to repair, without delay, to Madagascar This unexpected circumstance convinced me, that the minister had determined to send these gentlemen in quality of commissaries, to secure my person, in order to pursue violent measures for the reduction of the islanders by force. My suspicions were at last justified; for I received a letter from a friend, containing information that these inspectors had orders to bring me to Europe, in case they could be assured that such a proceeding, on the part of Government, towards me, would not excite the natives of the island to drive all the French out of their country. The dependance I placed on the attachment of the natives, set me entirely at ease in this respect; but I was strongly affected with indignation at the decision of the minister, and determined to resign my charge, in order that I might have it in my power to serve my friends more effectually.

On the 20th, the chiefs of the country having received information of the arrival of the new orders from the Court, and observing some consternation among my people, waited upon me to enquire whether I had received orders for my departure, and how such orders could be reconciled with the promise I had made, that I would never abandon them. These reproaches were

followed by lamentations, which affected me very sensibly, because I was convinced they arose from real attachment. I used every exertion to render them easy, by observing, that the movements they had taken notice of among the white men, were only made as preparations for the honourable reception of a General officer, who came from his Majesty to enquire into the state of the settlement, and to assure them of his powerful protection. This answer removed their apprehensions in some measure, but did not entirely destroy them.

On the 21st, a signal was made on the mountain that a three-masted vessel was in sight. Soon after I saw her myself, and knew her to be the Consolante. In the evening she anchored off the isle Aiguillon; and two hours after I received a letter from Messrs. Bellecombe and Chevreau, jointly, informing me of their quality as commissaries on the part of the King, and inspectors in their several departments. This letter was accompanied with an order, in the King's name, for me to come on board. As I had been forewarned of the instructions which these commissaries had received, I did not think proper to go on board, but answered that I was ready, conformably to the orders of his Majesty, to put the command of the settlement into their hands, that they might proceed to act according to their instructions; but that, until I had made an act of resignation, I neither could, nor ought to leave the shore. Together with my answer I sent a particular letter to Mr. Bellecombe, whom I intreated to come on shore without fear, and without landing his troops; and at the same time I solemnly promised to conform to every request I could honourably comply with. Upon receiving this answer, he replied, that he would come on shore, to inspire me with every confidence, by surrendering himself up to my politeness and delicacy. At the end of his letter, he insinuated, that if he had thought proper to give credit to all that he had heard, he should

not have taken this step; but that, as a military man, he would depend on my word of honour.

On the 22d, Messrs. De Bellecombe, mareshal des camps, and Chevreau, commissary general of stores, came on shore. I received them conformably to his Majesty's orders, specified in the letter of the minister, and immediately afterwards I presented my troop to Mr. De Bellecombe, acknowledging him, at the head of the troops, as inspector. In the evening of the same day, the commissaries put into my hands a paper, containing twenty-five articles of questions and demands relative to their mission, to which they demanded my answers to each severally. The rest of the day was employed in conversation respecting the different parts of the establishment.

On the 23d, I presented my answers, likewise reduced into twenty-five articles, to the gentlemen commissioners. The rest of the day was employed in visiting the fort, the public buildings and the hospital; and, in the mean time, Mr. Chevreau was busied in examining the accounts, together with those who had charge of the administration.

On the 24th, I gave an ample account of every thing relating to the military service.

On the 25th, the chiefs of the country, to whom I had sent an invitation to assemble at the settlement, conformably to the intention of the commissaries, demanded some days to collect those who resided at a distance. The commissaries, in order to save time, made an excursion with me to visit the two posts, Fort St. John, and Fort Augustus at the plain. The fear of contracting the disorders of the country occasioned them to hasten their return.

On the 26th, after our return to Louisbourg, they held a cabar, or assembly, with the chiefs, at which I declined being present, in order that the natives of the country might be at liberty to speak their minds.

On the 27th, the commissaries, after having given me a discharge respecting my past conduct, and accounts, and a certificate for the sum of four hundred and fifteen thousand livres which I had advanced to the treasury, prepared to go on board. I believe their departure was hastened by the fear of disorders, which they had been informed, at the isle of France, were very common at Madagascar. This circumstance probably disgusted them with our residence on shore, and might cause their reports, though very well written, to be less favourable than otherwise they might have been.

On the 28th, I delivered to Mr Bellecombe my act of resignation, and surrendered the command of the troops to Mr. De Sanglier.

On the 29th, Mr Bellecombe retired on board, and sent me an order in the King's name to confine my operations to the preservation of the chief settlement, until I should receive further instructions from Court; to put a stop to all the works whatever; to continue the prohibition of trading with the blacks, and lastly, permitting me to absent myself from Madagascar. But as I did not think proper to receive charge of any orders, because I had resigned my office, I forwarded this order to Mr. De Sanglier, and declared to the inspectors, that being determined from thenceforth to take charge of nothing relative to the establishment, I could no otherwise forward the new intentions of Government than by the good offices I might render them with the natives of the country. Upon this declaration the inspectors addressed to me a requisition, that I would promote the advantage of the establishment; but they at the same time declared, that as they could not accept my dismission, I was bound to perform the duties of my office until the arrival of precise orders from his Majesty, which would not fail to arrive upon their report. After those proceedings I saw no more of the commissaries, who departed for Foul Point, where

I am unacquainted with their proceedings. For my part, I retired immediately into one of my habitations, where I was visited by several Rohandrians and Woadziri chiefs, who having been informed that I had quitted the service of the king of France, required me to enter into the oath of Ampansacabe; for which reason they gave orders for a general meeting of the nation, on the 12th of the next month.

On the third day after my retreat, several of the officers came to beg I would assist them with my advice; and the troops sent deputies to me to declare, that if I did not resume the command over them, they were determined to leave the fort, and declare themselves independent. Mr. De Sanglier, the commander, likewise urged the same request very strongly, and assured me, that the troops would infallibly revolt, in case of my refusal; and the natives would, of course, ruin the posts already established. These representations, and the imminent danger of the settlement, determined me at last to resume the command, at the same time that I made a declaration, that I was actuated to this proceeding by a wish to preserve the Europeans, and to keep up the connection of friendship and commerce; but that this resumption should not be considered as a renewal of any obligation on my part, as I considered myself as entirely out of the service of France.

Such was the consequence of the precipitation with which the minister acted. My conduct has since proved, that all my actions arose from the most perfect delicacy, and that I did not, in any respect, depart from the attachment due to France; and if I refused to assist in such steps as Government was desirous of taking, to the violation of those treaties of alliance and commerce which I had stipulated with the Madagascar nation, I only did my duty. And certain it is, that I was desirous of serving the French by this conduct, for I was well convinced from the knowledge I had acquired

respecting the characters and manners of the people, that every attempt by force against the liberty of that nation, would be pernicious to the establishment and general interests of the nation. Future times will prove, that Madagascar can never be subdued by force, and that mildness and equity alone can lead this nation to a civilized state, which, when once established, cannot fail of procuring immense fortune and prosperity to its allies. But, alas! after what has passed, I have no reason to hope that the minister will change his system, though I am determined to use every effort to persuade him to do so.

October the 1st, 1776. Being desirous of placing the establishment in a situation to maintain itself, until the arrival of new orders from Court, I returned to Louisbourg, where having assembled the troops, I declared, that I resumed the command merely with a view to provide for the subsistence of the establishment, to which business I should afterwards attend jointly with Mr. Coquereau, the principal store-keeper. And in order that my regulations might be duly performed, I assembled a committee, composed of the principal store-keeper, two captains, and a sub-commissary of the marines, in which we regulated the provisions for the subsistence and continuation of trade, as well as the conduct we should in future adopt with respect to the natives. With regard to the military service, few alterations were necessary, because I had always attended closely to that department.

The 2d and 3d were employed in writing out instructions for the respective individuals.

On the 4th, an assembly of the chiefs of the Sambarives, Saphirobai, Antavoeny, Antivohibey, Antimaroa, Antambour, Antimokol, Antimananhar, Safeibrahim, and Saferahimina, was held, in which I declared, that having quitted the service of the King of France, I thought it proper to inform his Majesty,

by his ministers, respecting the position of the establishment, in order that I might have no cause to reproach myself for the consequences, in case the French minister should persist in his intention of subjugating the inhabitants of Madagascar by force; for which reason I requested them all to confess, sincerely, whether they were desirous of the continuation of the establishment, or its recall; and I promised, upon oath, to transmit their decision, word for word, to the King of France. Upon this proposal, the chiefs held a consultation of near an hour, and afterwards, having resumed their places, answered as follows:

"Wise and prudent as thou art, can'st thou doubt "our attachment towards thee? Hast thou not seen "with what ardour we have fought against our "brothers, when they had rebelled, in order to bring "them to their duty? Whence, therefore, is it that "thou shewest so much distrust towards a people that "is attached to thee? If thy heart tells thee that "thou wishest well to the French, say, and write to "their King, that we offer him our hearts and our "friendship. But we wish to live under thy command. "Thou art our father and our Lord. Let the French "love thee as we do, and our arms shall be united to "theirs; our colours shall be united with those of the "white men, and we will fight valiantly against the "common enemy: but if thou must suffer the hatred "of the French we will never acknowledge them as our "brethren, but their enemies shall be our friends. "These are our thoughts, and the words of our hearts. "Promise, therefore, before that God, whom we all "adore, to write them to the King of the French, and "engage that thou wilt be more attached to us than to "the French nation, and wilt never desert us."

Being assured of this unanimous reply, I made preparations for the cabar and oath, and engaged to inform the King of France of the thoughts of the

Madagascar people, and to live with them in future. The chiefs, on their side, engaged to obey my orders exactly, and to live in good harmony with the establishment.

After the ceremony was ended, I gave an entertainment to the natives, at which all the Europeans were present. This series of events preceding a revolution, which fixes the epoch of the civilization of Madagascar, led me to take many reflections. I knew, by experience, how little I could depend on the propriety of the decisions of the Cabinet of Versailles. My firmness alone was left to me to bear up against the apprehensions of the political articles which France would employ against me, to calumniate and destroy my reputation. But being assured of my loyalty, I determined, after having fixed my system of conduct amongst the chiefs and people of Madagascar, to return into France, in order to present in person an account of the interests of the settlement, and to combat the prejudices of the minister. I was well aware of the risk I ran; but at length the care of my reputation, and my affection for the people who had adopted me, led me to this resolution. I determined, therefore, that as France could not charge me with rebellion, and could only blame her ministers for their ignorance of her real interests, I would employ my fortune, my credit, and even the interest of Madagascar, to procure friends to that island, and bring the great work of civilization to a happy conclusion. This is my resolution, and I will adhere to it as long as I live.

On the 5th, I received from the different chiefs considerable presents, in slaves, cattle, and rice, which I distributed to the troops. This day, having convoked all the people of the establishment, I declared to them, that having secured their tranquillity with the natives of the country, and provided for their subsistence until they could receive orders from Court, I should now quit

them, and would no longer retain any command. Their tears were an unequivocal answer, and I heard but one exclamation, "No, we will not lose our father!"

On the 6th, the interpreter announced that six deputed chiefs had arrived with a considerable number of armed men. Upon receiving them, they informed me that the great day of the oath approached, and that the chiefs and people in assembly, desired that I would meet them, for which purpose they had detached the troops for my safeguard and service. To conform, therefore, to their desires, I quitted my French dress, and assumed that of an Indian; after which I set out. It was necessary for me to pass through a long row of natives of the country, who shouted, and invoked Zahanhar. My friends, the officers of my troop, and the whole people of the establishment, followed me. As soon as I had arrived at the camp, I was received by all the chiefs, and conducted to the tent which was designed for me, with six others for my domestics. I caused six four-pounders to be brought into my camp, which were placed before my tent, and a daily appointment of two hundred men was ordered for my guard.

On the 7th, 8th, and 9th, I was employed in drawing out my proposals to the assembly, for the establishment of a permanent Government. The 10th at last arrived, and I was awakened by a triple discharge of cannon. At six in the morning the chief Raffangour, with six others, all cloathed in white, presented themselves at my feet, and requested to speak with me. I received them without my tent, being likewise cloathed in white. The discourse of Raffangour expressed the testimonies of confidence with which the Madagascar nation had intrusted me with the supreme power, and the advantages they hoped to attain from my knowledge and services. After his speech, he begged me to follow him; and we went out of the camp into the plain, where we entered into a circle formed by an assembly

of thirty thousand armed men. The chiefs being each at the head of the people of their own nation, and the women without the circle, the chiefs immediately formed the first circle round us and Raffangour harangued them to the following effect:

"Blessed be Zahanhar, who has returned to his people. "Blessed be the blood of Zafferamini, to whom our at- "tachment is due. Blessed be the law of our fathers, "which commands us to obey a chief descended from "the blood of Ramini. Our fathers and ourselves, "have experienced, that disunion is the punishment "of God. Since the long time we have been deprived "of a chief of the sacred race of Ramini, we have lived "like wild beasts; sometimes killing our brethren, and "at other times perishing by their violence. Enfeebled "by our disunion, we have always been the prey of the "strongest. We have been wicked, without being de- "sirous to listen to the voice of justice and equity. "Yes, we have in our own times beheld the wretched "descendants of those who spilled the blood of Ramini, "call in the French to assist them in oppressing and "destroying their brethren. We know how Zahanhar "has punished them, by permitting one of their slaves, "supported by the French, to spill their blood, in ex- "piation of their crimes. You all understand me; but "I have thought proper to bring these facts to your "recollection, in order that you might take the union "of hearts for your law. To preserve this, you must "follow the law of your fathers, which commands you "to submit to the descendant of Ramini—I here pre- "sent him to you; I give him this sagaie, that he may "be the only Ombiassobe, as was our father Ramini. "Attend to my voice, ye Rohandrians, Anacandrians, "Voadziri, Lohavobites, Philoubey, Ondzatsi, Ombiasses, "Ampouria. It is the law of the blood of our fathers. "Acknowledge the Ampansacabe; submit to him, listen "to his voice, follow the laws which he shall give, and

" you shall be happy. Alas! my old age does not per-
" mit me to share your happiness, my friends, and my
" spirit shall not perceive the testimonies of that grati-
" tude, which you may shew to my tomb." He then turned to me, and proceeded—" And thou, worthy son
" of the blood of Ramini, implore the assistance of God,
" who enlightens thee with his spirit. Be just; love
" thy people as thy children; let their happiness be
" thine, and be not a stranger to their wants and
" misfortunes. Govern and assist with thy counsels
" the Rohandrians and Anacandrians; protect the
" Voadziri, watch with paternal care over the Lohavo-
" hites and Philoubey; employ, for the general good,
" the Ondzatsi and Ombiasses; and do not despise the
" Ampouria; cause them to consider their masters as
" their fathers, as it was in the time of our father
" Ramini."

Having finished this discourse, he put the sagaie into my hands, and prostrated himself before me, as did likewise his companions, and all the chiefs that were assembled together; and at last I saw upwards of fifty thousand men prostrated before me. Raffangour requested me to make a public answer, which he repeated in these words—" Veloun Raminiha, Veloun Ouloun
" malacassa, Veloun Rohandriani, Anacandriani, Voad-
" ziri, Lohavohites, Philoubey, Ondzatsi, Ombiasses,
" Ampouria, Veloun, Veloun Zaffé Aminiha, Mitomba
" Zahanhar:"—which implies, Long live the blood of Ramini, Long live the Madagascar nation, Long live the Rohandrians, &c. Long live the blood of our fathers, and may the God who created the heavens and the earth long preserve us all. The people gave repeated shouts whenever I named any class; and at last arose; and when every one was standing, I continued my speech, by saying, that I acknowledged the favour of Heaven, which had brought me again to the land of my fathers; that I should employ my whole life in attending to what

the spirit of God should inspire me to do, that every individual of the Madagascar nation might consider me as a father. I then intreated the Rohandrians, and the other chiefs, to the Voadziri inclusive, to assist me with their counsels. I engaged the Lohavohites faithfully to execute the orders they should receive; and I assured the Ampouria, that the laws would abate the inconveniences of their unhappy state of slavery. I promised the Ondzatsi and Ombiasses to employ them in the welfare of the nation; and I concluded my discourse by declaring that I considered it as my duty to devote all my time to the establishment of a form of Government, in order that union and harmony might be preserved. I was continuing my harangue, when Raffangour begged me to stop. The orders then separated from each other, the Rohandrians assembling together, and Anacandrians likewise apart, as did all the others. I was first led to the Rohandrians, where I found an ox, whose throat I cut, at the same time pronouncing the oath of sacrifice, and every Rohandrian took a drop of the blood, which he swallowed, repeating, with a loud voice, imprecations against himself and his children, in case he should fail in the obedience he had sworn to me. I was then conducted to the circle of the Anacandrians, where I killed two oxen, and the same oath was repeated. In this manner I passed through all the classes of the people, where I killed three oxen for the Voadziri, four with the Lohavohites, six with the Ondzatsi, two with the Ombiasses, and twelve with the Ampouria. These last dipped the ends of their sagaies in the blood, and licked them, at the same time pronouncing the oath. The whole ceremony passed without the least confusion; and I was again conducted to the circle of the Rohandrians, who made a second oath with me, which was performed in this manner:—each person made an incision, with a razor, under the left breast, as I did

likewise myself, and each mutually sucked the blood of each other, at the same time pronouncing the maledictions against whoever should violate his oath, and benedictions in favour of those who should continue faithful to their engagement. All this ceremony was ended in the course of two hours. After noon the chiefs announced to their people a moment of recollection, to invoke the spirit of God, and to thank Zahanhar for his goodness and protection.

At a quarter past two the Rohandrians conducted me to my tent, where I detained them to dinner. I invited the Anacandrians and Voadziri to drink after dinner, and sent four casks of brandy to the Lohavohites, to be distributed among the Ondzatzi, Ombiasses, and Ampouria.

About six in the evening, near three hundred women, natives of the country, appeared, and requested to make an oath with my spouse. The ceremony was performed by moon-light, and their oath was made by dancing. The purport of it was, that they would obey the orders of my spouse, and would appeal to her in all the disputes and quarrels, in which it was not proper for men to meddle. This oath being finished, their rejoicings began, and the night passed in dances and songs.

On the 11th, I requested all the chiefs to assemble, to hold their first cabar. At eight, the assembly being full, I required the execution of an act of engagement, under oath, to be made with the insertion of all the names of the chiefs and people present. This act was written in the language of the country, with Roman letters, and was as follows:

" This act of oath of the Kings Rohandrian, of the " Princes Voadziri, of the chiefs Lohavohites, and the " people of Madagascar, made the 10th of October, " 1776, appointing and confirming the election of " Maurice Augustus Count of Benyowsky, to the rank

" of Ampansacabe, or supreme chief of the nation, the " Kings, Princes, chiefs, and people undersigned, being " assembled in cabar:

" In presence of our people, having consumed the " sacrifice, and made the oath of blood, we proclaim, " declare, and acknowledge Mauritius Augustus for " our supreme chief Ampansacabe, titles extinct since " the decease of our holy family of Ramini, which we " revive in him and his family. It is for this reason " that, having consumed the sacrifice, we submit " inviolably to his authority; in consequence of which " we determine to erect, in our province of Mohavelou, " a monument to perpetuate the memory of our union, " and to immortalize our holy oath: In order that our " infants, and their children, unto the most remote " posterity, may be obedient to the sacred family " Ombiasse of the Ampansacabe, whom we all sanctify " by our submissions.—Cursed be our children who " shall not obey our present will; cursed be their " inheritances, and the fruits of the earth on which " they shall subsist:—may the most horrid slavery " confound them."

Hiavi, King of the East.
Lambouin, King of the North.
Raffangour, Rohandrian of the Sambarives.

A List of the great Men, or Chiefs, and the People at this Cabar.

Raffangour Rohandrian—Cievi Voadziri,
Of the province of Zaferamini, with their people.

Sianique Rohandrian—Mandingue Anacandrian,
Of the province of Saphirobay, with their people.

Raoul Anacandrian—Diamanong Voadziri,
Of the province of Antambour, with their people.

Manongamon Rohandrian—Mamon Anacandrian,
Of the province of Antivoiesou, with their people.

Manacandrin Anacandrian—Diamandriss Lohavohits,
Of the province of Antisapherobay, with their people.

Raffenou Anacandrian—Leloatou Anacandrian,
Of the province of Antivohibey, with their people.

Sancé Rohandrian Malata—Damo-Anacandrian,
Of the province of Sambarives, with their people.

Lambaranthe Rohandrian—Francé Anacandrian,
Of the province of Antsirac, with their people.

Hiavi Rohandrianabé,
King, with his troop of Ondzatsi.

Lambouin Rohandrianabé,
King of the North, with his troop.

Ramaraombe Rohandrian — Diamboulmasse Anacandrian, of the province of Massouala, with their troops.

Raffidzimon Anacandrian — Diafaitsche Lohavohits,
Of the province of Antavacayr, with their people.

Dianbandze Anacandrian—Siomba Lohavohits,
Of the province of Rantabay, with their people.

Romain Lohavohites—Mamay Lohavohits,
Of the province subjected to Hiavi, with the Ondzatsi.

Diane Sara Rohandrian—Ravoye Lohavohits,
Of the province of Manoarou, with their people.

Mumere Rohandrian—Ravoye Lohavohits,
Of the province of Mananzari, with their people.

Ravousow Anacandrian—Belaze Lohavohits,
Of the province of Mahafali, with their people.

Diane Souloat Rohandrian—Fanhamenon Anacandrian, of the province of Matanany, with their people.

I employed the rest of the day in conferring with the chiefs, in order to persuade them to adopt a constitution, which I had determined to propose the following day, the hour of meeting being fixed at ten.

This day likewise was employed in festivals and rejoicing; and nothing passed of any importance, except the delivery of a petition, signed by thirty-eight soldiers, five subaltern officers, and six persons employed in civil affairs. They entreated that I would grant them my protection, which I could not refuse. They had previously secured an assurance of protection from the greater part of the Rohandrians. Towards the evening I received advice of the arrival of two private vessels upon the coast, and I immediately sent an interpreter to purchase the said vessels and their cargoes.

On the 12th, the chiefs of the province of Rantabay presented the Europeans who formerly belonged to the settlement, and requested me to receive them under my protection, and permit them to settle amongst us. I consented to this, and their oath was received in cabar. At ten, the meeting being full, I opened the business, by a motion for the establishment of a form of government and constitution. My proposal was to the following effect:

" In consequence of my election to the office of " Ampansacabe, I find myself charged with a prodigious " weight. When I considered the duties annexed to " my office, by accepting this charge, I foresaw that the " general good of the nation must be my first aim. To " attain this, I am convinced that the power ought to " be lodged in the hands of a supreme Council, com- " posed of members of known wisdom, prudence, and

" activity. Let this Council exercise all the acts of " sovereignty, and possess the sole right, with the con- " sent of the Ampansacabe, of convening the general " assembly of the nation. In order that they may " adopt and agree to the constitution, when it shall be " drawn out, or whenever it shall be required, to " administer the oath of fidelity to the Ampansacabe. " From among the members of the supreme Council, " who shall always be taken out of the rank of " Rohandrians and Anacandrians, whether Indians or " Europeans, nomination shall be made to the places " of governors of provinces, as well as to the offices of " ministers of State, whether in the departments of war, " marine, finance or trade, justice or agriculture. And " as it is likewise necessary to watch with the greatest " exactness to the execution of all the orders and " resolutions appointed by the supreme Council, the " Ampansacabe, with the advice of the Council, shall " establish a permanent Council, composed of one or " two Rohandrians, and all the rest of the Voadziri and " Lohavohites. Let there be provincial councils like- " wise, whose members shall consist of a Rohandrian " governor, five Anacandrians, two Voadziri, four Lo- " havohites, and the rest of the Ondzatsi and Ombiasses. " The business of the supreme Council will be constantly " to prevent all dissentions, which might arise from " misunderstandings between the Rohandrians, or " between the several provinces; it will be incumbent " on them to use only the ways of justice. They must " watch, lest foreign armies should make attempts " against the liberty of the Madagascar nation, by " forming establishments on shore. Their constant " endeavour must be, to render industry and trade " flourishing; and, in a word, their utmost exertions " must be directed to secure the most perfect prosperity " to the community."

I concluded my discourse, by assuring the cabar, that

with the aid and assistance of God, I hoped to see, in a short time, happiness, riches, and prosperity, return to the nation; and, by means of due order and form of government, established on good principles, I hoped that the island would be for ever freed from discord, the scourge of war, and the unhappy state of slavery.

As soon as I had ceased to speak, all those who were present cried out, "Velou Ampansacabe, velou Ramini;" which implies, Long live our lord, long live the descendant of Ramini. The chief Raffangour begged that I would permit him to announce my discourse to the people; and he went out for this purpose, and returned in the space of an hour, with all the people. On his return into the cabar, he assured all the chiefs, that the nation entrusted all their rights to the assembly, the individuals of which gave me full authority to form a supreme Council, and to do every thing I thought proper for their common welfare. I therefore proceeded to nominate to the charges of the supreme Council, the number of which was fixed at thirty-two persons.

Four Europeans were immediately nominated and eight natives of the country whose names were as follow:

Raffangour Rohandrian,
Sianique Rohandrian,
Raoul Anacandrian,
Manongamanon Rohandrian,
Raffenou Anacandrian,
Sancé Rohandrian, a Mulatto,
Hiavi Rohandrian,
Lambouin Rohandrian.

The two last mentioned Rohandrians solemnly renounced all pretensions to supremacy.

The nomination of the twenty other members was deferred, in order to afford employ for such Europeans as might hereafter arrive, and those natives of the country who might be found to possess abilities.

After this nomination, which was universally approved by shouts of joy, I proceeded to that of the permanent Council, which was confined to eighteen individuals.

Two Europeans were immediately nominated, and six natives of the country, whose names were as follow:

Ramazaombe Rohandrian,
Rafidzimon Anacandrian,
Diamanong Voadziri,
Zievi Voadziri,
Diamandrisse Lohavohits,
Diafaiche Lohavohits.

This nomination was likewise applauded; and the nomination of the ten other members was deferred, for the same reason as was mentioned respecting the supreme Council.

Being satisfied with the business of the day, having established these two pillars which were to support the burthen of the constitution, I adjourned the cabar till the following day, at eight o'clock. This day I received a demand from the settlement, to furnish a cargo of rice for the isle of France; but the commander at Louisbourg informed me that the storehouses were empty, and unprovided with any articles of trade, and that it would be impossible for him to extricate himself without my assistance. In consequence of this representation, and to shew how much I had the good of the settlement at heart, I requested the Saphirobai chiefs to open a trade for bills, of which I formed a model, and sent a sufficient number to the commander of the settlement.

In the night of this day I received advice, that the King of the Seclaves had sent presents and envoys towards me, to conclude the peace. I dispatched a Rohandrian to meet them.

On the 13th, the Council being assembled, I proposed

to determine upon a place for the erection of a town: the place appointed was at the head of the river Manangouzon. It was likewise proposed to erect six governments, from the harbour of Moroava to the point of Itapere. But as I was in want of people capable of fulfilling these charges, I deferred the execution of the act of Council. This circumstance afforded me an occasion to represent to the members of the Council, that it would be of the greatest advantage for the interests of the nation, to form treaties of commerce and friendship with the King of France, or some other European power, in order to secure the exportation of our productions, and the importation of articles necessary for the instruction of youth in the different sciences, arts, and trades, by engaging Europeans of skill in those respective employments, to come and establish themselves among us. I accompanied this proposition with an assurance, that I would go on this business myself; and there was only the old Raffangour Rohandrian who testified his displeasure, and said openly, that I was going to seek my death. He intreated his countrymen to oppose my departure; but, unfortunately, I was too strongly attached to my principles, and I declared that it was my intention to repair to Europe, in order to conclude treaties of commerce and friendship with any European nation whatever, and that I had only deferred the execution of this project until the form of Government I had established should be in a regular train.

The 14th, 15th, and 16th, I was constantly employed in establishing the rules and orders of Government. This day the envoys of Cimanounpou, King of the Seclaves, were presented to me. They announced a present of eighty slaves, and five hundred oxen; but as they declared they were sent by the King to the French commandant, after having assured them that this title no longer belonged to me, I caused them to

be conducted, with their attendants, to Louisbourg; but their astonishment was extreme, when they heard that I was chosen Ampansacabe, and descendant of the line of Ramini; for it was not till after the death, or rather the massacre, of Ramini Larizon, that the Rohandrian of Boyana, assumed the title of King of the Seclaves.

On the 17th, I purchased the cargo of a private vessel, of the value of forty-five thousand livres, for which I gave one hundred and twenty-eight slaves. This cargo was afterwards consigned to the disposition of Ramaraombe Rohandrian, member of the permanent Council.

On the 18th, judging it necessary to establish an order for the military service, I nominated Sancé Rohandrian, a Mulatto, Miaditompe Generalissimo, and established twelve companies, each of one hundred and fifty Ondzatsi, with orders to look to the preservation of the peace, conformably to the instructions which should be prescribed by the supreme Council. At the instant of this formation, each Rohandrian demanded permission to establish, in his respective district, a company of war. I not only granted this request, but ordered them so to do; and, with a view to give a sanction to this military establishment, I determined to make the resolution in full cabar, which I had appointed for the 19th. This day I caused twenty-two standards to be made, in order to be distributed to the different Rohandrians and Anacandrians. These colours had a blue ground, with a white moon in the middle. Those of each legion had a blue square on a white ground, with a moon and six stars in the middle.

On the 19th, the people being assembled in cabar, I gave my sanction to the establishment of bodies of troops; and the colours were distributed with a degree of solemnity which was truly striking.

On the 20th, having a corvette ready to sail, and having regulated the direction of my houses, and pro-

vided for the affairs of the nation, I determined to renew the proposals respecting my departure, and demanded titles and powers relative to my mission. The following was concluded on in the Council.

The chiefs Rohandrian, Anacandrian, Voadziri, Lohavohiti, and the people Ondzatsi and Ombiasses, assembled in general cabar of the nation, having agreed to the proposition made by their Ampansacabe, and consented that the said Ampansacabe shall absent himself to make a voyage to Europe, in order to conclude a treaty with the King of France, or any other nation; and to empower him to engage men, skilful in different arts and occupations, to come and dwell at Madagascar; it is in consequence that they have determined to give him entire authority, and absolute power. They promise to him to follow exactly the order which he has prescribed for the form of Government, during the whole time of his absence; and they swear to be faithful to him; that they will not admit any foreigner into their island; and still less will they suffer any of their people to make particular treaties with any person whomsoever. They declare likewise, that after the expiration of the term of one year and a half, if they do not see their Ampansacabe return, they will not suffer any French settlement upon the coast of their island.

But they require that their Ampansacabe oblige himself to return, whether he shall succeed or not in his enterprize; and that, in case of any retardation, he shall send them news of his safety.

These engagements and resolutions were confirmed by the oath of blood, and the cabar broke up with lamentations, which strongly shook my resolution; but, alas! my destiny was too strong, and I followed its impulse in what appeared to me to be just and reasonable.

After the cabar had risen, Raffangour came to me, to represent once more the danger to which I exposed myself. He assured me, that he knew the French to

be ambitious of rendering themselves masters of the island, sooner or later, and that they would make attempts against my life and liberty. He urged examples of their ferocity, by repeating what had been their behaviour upon the island. In a word, he spoke to me in the language of a friend, who was aware of the calamities that awaited me. His reasoning was well founded, and rested upon the highest probability; and I can only blame my zeal to promote the interest of France, at the risk of losing my fortune, my estate, and my life. This day was employed in drawing out the full powers, which were read in the committee, and duly expedited. Here follows a copy of the full powers.

*October* 23, 1776. In the plain of Mahavelou, the Kings, Princes, chiefs, and people of Madagascar, upon the north and eastern coasts of the island, being united in cabar, or general assembly, having heard the propositions of their Ampansacabe, placing an entire confidence in his affection towards them, and his sworn fidelity to perform his engagements, give unto him absolute and irrevocable powers to treat in Europe with the King of France, or any other King or nation, and to form commercial or friendly alliances, relations, or engagements. In consequence whereof we declare, in the present cabar, our approval, agreement, and ratification of whatever he shall sign and conclude, in his quality of an Ampansacabe. And, to consolidate our submissions, we have unanimously resolved, and do appoint, that in case the King of France shall not accept our offers, the Ampansacabe shall enjoy full authority and power to address himself to any other sovereign or nation, and to conclude treaties of commerce and friendship with them, and to make other engagements relative thereto. And, in the mean time, during the absence of our Ampansacabe, we solemnly bind ourselves, not to receive any foreigner into our island, nor to form any treaty or connection with any other nation; in testimony of

which we have executed the present instrument, after having caused it to be read and interpreted in full cabar, and have put the same into the hands of our said Lord Ampansacabe. Signed the year, the month, and the day above written, in the name of the whole nation.

RAFFANGOUR, Rohandrian,
HIAVI, King of the East,
LAMBOUIN, King of the North.

On the 21st, I informed the chiefs, that being desirous of making preparations for my departure, I should take my leave of them ; and I proposed to them to acknowledge, for the whole time of my absence, Raffangour chief of the supreme Council, or, in his absence or failure, the chief Sancé. The rest of this day was taken up in a festival, at which more than forty thousand people were present.

From the 22d of this month to the 10th of December, I was employed in arranging a variety of affairs, of a public as well as private nature.

On the 11th, I went to Louisbourgh to assist the commanding officer of that settlement with my advice; and on the 14th, being at last informed, that every thing was embarked on board the brig, the Belle Arthur, which I had freighted to carry me to the Cape of Good Hope, I took my leave to go on board. When I came to the sea side, I found myself surrounded by most of the chiefs of the country, and all the people of the settlement, wishing me a good voyage; and the natives invoking Zahanhar to assist me in my undertakings. At the conclusion they all wept; and, at this single moment of my life, I experienced what the heart is capable of suffering, when torn from a beloved and affectionate society to which it is devoted. At length I went on board, not without paying a tribute to nature, which I had never experienced during the most dreadful sufferings of my tyrannical exile. The north wind at

be ambitious of rendering themselves masters of the island, sooner or later, and that they would make attempts against my life and liberty. He urged examples of their ferocity, by repeating what had been their behaviour upon the island. In a word, he spoke to me in the language of a friend, who was aware of the calamities that awaited me. His reasoning was well founded, and rested upon the highest probability; and I can only blame my zeal to promote the interest of France, at the risk of losing my fortune, my estate, and my life. This day was employed in drawing out the full powers, which were read in the committee, and duly expedited. Here follows a copy of the full powers.

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which we have executed the present instrument, after having caused it to be read and interpreted in full cabar, and have put the same into the hands of our said Lord Ampanamahe. Signed the year, the month, and the day above written, in the name of the whole nation.

Rayvavoure, Rohandrian.
Hiavi, King of the East.
Lambouix, King of the North.

On the 21st, I informed the chiefs, that being desirous of making preparations for my departure, I should take my leave of them: and I proposed to them to acknowledge, for the whole time of my absence, Raffangour chief of the supreme Council, or, in his absence or failure, the chief Sancé. The rest of this day was taken up in a festival, at which more than forty thousand people were present.

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length began to blow afresh; and towards evening I set sail for the Cape of Good Hope, at which place I proposed to freight another vessel, to carry me to France. This voyage may probably give birth to happy circumtances, such as my wishes have formed, in favour of the settlement at Madagascar, and may perhaps repair the faults committed by the minister.

# NOTES

P. 1. *Lobositz.* The first action of the Seven Years' War, October 1, 1756, when Frederick the Great attacked Marshal Broun's camp, on the river Elbe.

P. 2. *Prague.* Here Prince Charles was defeated by Frederick.

P. 2. *Schweidnitz.* Near Breslau; captured by the Hungarian General Nádasty.

P. 2. *Domstadt.* General Ziethen, with a Prussian convoy, was cut off by General Ziskowitz.

P. 2. *Lithuania.* The Duchy of Lithuania, now one of the north-west provinces of Russia, formed part of Poland until the partition of 1795. Its chief town is Wilna.

P. 2. *Starostie.* A great fief of the crown, held by its possessor during life.

P. 3. *Confederation.* A confederation under Prince Radzivil, in support of Count Branitsky, and many other confederacies of Polish malcontents were formed about this time.

P. 4. *Quarter-Master General.* Benyowsky was only twenty-one years of age, and no record of his serving in this high position can be found.

P. 4. *County of Zips.* Close to the northern frontier of Hungary. The sixteen towns of the Zips were pawned to Poland by King Sigmund in 1412, and were not reincorporated with Hungary till 1772.

P. 4. *Novitarg.* Nowytarg or Neumarkt, in Galicia, south of Cracow.

P. 6. *Vielicka.* Wielitzka, whose salt-works are celebrated, eight miles from Cracow.

P. 9. *Cracow.* The Count states he quitted Cracow August 22, and that the town was taken during his absence; but General Apraxin really took Cracow on the night of August 17–18.

P. 9. *Leutsch.* Löcse (Leutschau), in the county of Zips.

P. 10. *Lublin.* South-east of Warsaw. The palatinate of Lublin was assigned to Austria by the third partition of Poland in 1795.

P. 10. *Krasnoslaw.* Krasmystau.

P. 10. *Zamosc.* Zamosts, half-way between Warsaw and Lemberg.

P. 11. *Grodeck.* Grudeck, a village on the Dniester river, north of Czernowitz, at its confluence with river Sered.

P. 12. *Fantassins.* Foot-soldiers.

P. 12. *Kamieniecz.* Kamenetz Podolsk, on the Dniester, in Podolia, near Bar.

P. 12. *Belcz.* Belz, in Galicia.

P. 13. *Chasseurs.* Companies of light infantry, equivalent to our old-fashioned terms of "rangers" for "foresters."

P. 14. *Mosty.* Mosty-wielkie.

P. 14. *The taking of Bar.* The taking of Bar in Podolia occurred on June 9, O.S. (June 20, N.S.), yet Benyowsky only heard of it on November 29, 1768.

P. 16. *Zuaniecz.* The credit of the defence of Zwaniecz and the retreat across the Dniester is historically assigned to Pulawsky. No chronicler except himself has ever awarded to Benyowsky a share of these honours.

P. 17. *Wolnia.* Volhynia is the province including the basin of the Prypet river, and is very fertile in the southern districts, which were once covered with flourishing towns belonging to Poland before the partition.

P. 17. *Constantinow.* Staro-konstantinoff.

P. 21. *Kamieniecz Podolsky.* Kamenetz Podolsk, mentioned above.

P. 21. *Chotym.* Khotin or Choczim, a fortified post on the right bank of the Dniester, opposite Kamenetz Podolsk

P. 26. *Natolia.* Anatolia, in Asia Minor.

P. 27. *Janizaries.* Turkish, meaning "new soldiers." The first regular standing army of the Turks, formed in 1330; destroyed by Mahmud II. in 1826.

P. 27. *Spahis.* Irregular horse; Turkish form of Persian word *sipahi*, the same word from which we derive Sepoy.

P. 28. *Count Casimir Pulauzky*, or Pulawski. One of the chief leaders in the Confederacy of Bar. He afterwards raised a corps named Pulawski's Legion, which he led in the American War of Independence, and was killed in the siege of Savannah, 1779.

P. 30. *Kiow.* Kieff. Ancient, holy city, on right bank of the Dnieper river, in the Ukraine, was joined to Russia in 1667.

P. 32. *Cazan.* Kazan, on the left bank of the river Volga, a large town of 88,000 inhabitants.

P. 33. *Tula.* Tula, the Russian Birmingham, 121 miles south of Moscow, famous for its factories of fire-arms and cutlery.

P. 36. *Podruschna.* In certain provinces of Russia, even now, it is necessary, in order to travel post, to obtain a "podorojna" or "podorozhaya" (the cost of which depends on the number of horses and the versts to be travelled), *i.e.* an order from the governor of the town, or from an official appointed for the purpose.

P. 36. *Sebuskar.* Cheboksary, district town, capital of the Chuvash race, of Finnish origin, now a steamer station on the Volga.

P. 36. *Kusmoden Janskoy.* Kosmodeniansk, district town, population 5000; a steamer station on the Volga.

P. 36. *Nizney Novogrod.* Nijni Novgorod, Lower Novgorod, 273 miles east of Moscow, situated at the confluence of the Volga and Oka rivers; celebrated for its great fair.

P. 37. *Volodomir.* Vladimir, chief town of province of same name, 118 miles east of Moscow, on the left bank of the Kliazma river.

P. 37. *Twer.* On the Volga, 300 miles south of St. Petersburg, 100 miles from Moscow.

P. 37. *Velki-novogrod.* Veche Novgorod, the Great Novgorod, 90 miles south of St. Petersburg.

P. 37. *The Bridge of Neva.* The great Troitsky (Trinity) Bridge.

P. 39. *Fort of St. Peter and St. Paul.* This fortress and cathedral is on the northern bank of the Neva, facing the palaces and city of St. Petersburg.

P. 44. *Malmitz.* Malmysh, on the river Viätka, 140 miles north-east of Kazan.

P. 44. *River Viattka.* The Viätka river flows south from lat. 60° into the Kama, which unites with the Volga south of Kazan.

P. 44. *Saragut.* Sarapul, on the Kama river.

P. 44. *Kunzir.* Kungur, on the road from Perm to Ekaterinburg, in the Ural Mountains.

P. 44. *Tninkz.* Turinsk.

P. 46. *Sottnik.* A troop of 100 Cossacks is a Sottnia, the commander a Sottnik.

P. 46. *Sobulak*, or Zabalak (p. 47).

P. 49. *Voivode.* Voévodes and castellains were the mayors and head-men established throughout the towns and villages from the fifteenth century.

P. 52. *Jenisea*, or Jeniseisk (p. 53).

P. 57. *Roszomak.* The glutton or wolverene or vielfrass (*Gulo luscus*); the skin averages some 29 inches long.

P. 62. *Hunters (promisleny).* The fur hunters are, according to Murray, in Russian langnage, "promyshlonyie."

P. 66. *Pesci.* The Arctic or ice foxes.

P. 79. *Marian islands.* The Marianne Islands or Ladrones, the Spanish colony, now held by Germany, in the North Pacific.

P. 79. *Capitals.* Profits, accumulated funds.

P. 79. *Anson's Voyage. Voyage round the World,* 1748. A translation had been published in the Slavonian language.

P. 80. *Committee.* The Russian names of Benyowsky's comrades are given by Sgibnev as follows: Lieut. Basil Panov, Colonel Joseph Baturin, Captain Hippolyt Stepanov, Khrushtshev (Crustiew). Benyowsky himself was on the official list as "the Polish rebel and vagabond Beyposk."

P. 89. *Madame de Nilow and Miss Aphanasia de Nilow.* According to Berg, who edited Ryumin's diary, Aphanasia was a wholly mythical personage, or, if she ever existed in the flesh, had never been to Kamchatka, but remained behind at Yisiga, where her father had previously been stationed.

P. 113. *A traineau.* A sledge; see illustration.

P. 131. *Ostrogg.* A fortified post, such as that of Ochotsk; a simple square, surrounded with palisades and provided with a four-pounder at each angle.

P. 131. *Jourt,* or yourt. Huts constructed of framework of wood with skins stretched over them, of different shapes. Those of the Bouriats are circular like cupolas, those of the Tonguses conical, of the Yakouts square, of the Ostiaks triangular.

P. 132. *Larac.* A preparation of the wild buckwheat (*Polygonum Tartaricum*).

P. 132. *Jukola.* Fish preserved in bags of sturgeon's skin.

P. 139. *Sarana.* The red currants of the cassis.

Pp. 144, 165, 307. *Muchomor.* The ripe spongy capillitium of the great puff-ball, a fungus known to science as *Lycoperdon giganteum.* Langsdorf gives an account of its employment as a narcotic; and in Kamchatka it is said to obtain a very high price. Dr. Porter Smith writes of its employment medicinally by the Chinese. See "International Science Series," *Fungi: their Nature, Influence, and Uses,* by M. C. Cooke, M.A., LL.D. (1894), p. 102.

P. 183. *Petards.* Obsolete explosive machines for blowing up gates, stockades, etc. Shakespeare mentions them in *Hamlet,* Act iii., Sc. 4.

P. 237. *Captain Beering.* Captain Bering, the Russian navigator and discoverer.

P. 243. *Bolshoretzkoy Ostrogg.* Benyowsky as usual greatly exaggerates the size of this place. According to Krachenninnikow, in 1768 there were only thirty houses. Its Ostrogg or

fort was of a very inferior description, with a garrison of only forty-five regular soldiers, and fourteen file of Cossacks.

P. 243. *Battering cannon.* This is a wrong translation. The original "canons en batterie" should be rendered as "guns mounted," and these were only four-pounders. See Captain Oliver's edition of Benyowsky's travels (1893), pp. 52 and 253.

P. 251. *The Aleuthes islands.* The Aleutian Islands, of which Benyowsky waives the description, as he never reached them.

P. 256. *The Kurelles islands.* The Kurile Islands, discovered in 1634 by the Dutch navigator De Vries. See *Voyage* of Krusenstern.

P. 263. *Batogh.* Baton, staff, or club.

P. 294. *This discovery.* Benyowsky never made any such discovery, as his editor admits. He never came into these waters near Bering's Straits.

P. 307. *Muchomor.* See above note, p. 144.

P. 309. *Balagans.* Bologans, slight wooden sheds, raised on high props or stilts.

P. 333. *The island of Liquor.* The name of this wholly imaginary island was evidently derived by Benyowsky from the name given by Dampier to the Bashee Islands, from the name of an intoxicating liquor much used by the natives. Indeed, in one of his signed documents Benyowsky states that he visited "L'isle Baschet."

P. 334. *Marcasite.* Species of iron pyrites.

P. 336. *Cinnabar.* Ore of mercury, sulphide.

P. 345. *Namandabuz.* Professor R. K. Douglas writes: "This is doubtless the common invocation addressed to Buddha, 'Namo Amida Butsu.'"

P. 347. *Fiassi guzarimas.* The word "gozarimasu" so frequently heard is only the more polite form of "arimas." "Fiassi" may have been "Trasshaimashi," "Welcome," or "Irasshai," "Come in"; "Ikaga de gozarimas?" is "How do you do?"

P. 350. *Tompions.* Tompion is a plug fitted to the bore of a piece of ordnance as a protection.

P. 351. *Usilpatchar.* This is probably to be identified with Funikata.

P. 351. *Ulikamy.* Père de Charlevoix mentions "des dieux Camis" and the Cubo Samai.

P. 356. *Hydromel.* Saki or rice-spirit sweetened with sugar-cane juice. See p. 386.

P. 371. *Pateraroes.* Patararo or paterero, Spanish; a small brass mortar for firing salutes, or for use in advanced trenches; but as Benyowsky later mentions them as being mounted on swivels, they must then refer to wall-pieces or boat-guns.

P. 383. *Sampan.* A small covered-in river or shore boat, quite unfitted for a voyage at sea.

P. 386. *Juice of the sugar cane mixed with rice spirit.* See "Hydromel" above.

P. 396. *Anson's Voyage. Voyage round the World*, compiled from papers of the Rt. Hon. Geo. Anson by Richard Walter, 1748. See above, p. 79.

P. 403. *Periagua.* Spanish, a dug-out canoe; French, a *pirogue.*

P. 410. *Epaulements.* A parapet without a banquette, merely affording cover shoulder-high, is termed an epaulement.

P. 421. *Patereros.* See "Pateraroes" above, p. 371.

P. 425. *Quintals of silver.* Quintal, a measure of weight=100 lbs. of 12 oz. The French *quintal métrique*=220 lbs.

P. 429. *Paccahimba.* No trace of any such name among the aborigines, who are included in eight groups, viz., the Pepohoan; Puyuma, and Ami, or domesticated savages; the Atayal, Vonum, Tsou, Tsalisen, and Paiwan are wild hill tribes.

P. 431. *Provinces of Formosa.* Previous to the Japanese conquest of Formosa, in 1895, the island was divided into six provinces subject to the Chinese—Tamsuy, Komalan, Changwa, Kia-e, Taiwan, Fungshan,—the mountainous districts of centre and eastern portions being occupied by wild uncivilised tribes, as above.

Pp. 438-9. *Tamasoa.* Probably Tamsui in north-west Formosa. There is also a Tamsui river in south-west Formosa.

P. 441. *The Ladrones.* A small group of islets fronting the estuary of the Canton river: not to be confounded with the Ladrones, or Marianne Islands, mentioned above, p. 79.

P. 441. *Omy.* Macao is known to the Chinese as Ngao-mun, easily rendered at Nz'aomuny=Omy.

P. 441. *Passing the pass.* The entrance to the inner harbour is narrow; this is the "pass" mentioned, opposite the fort San Iago, or Barra, which receives salutes from ships entering.

P. 452. *Sampans.* See above, p. 383.

P. 452. *Mouth of the Tigu.* Mouth of the Tiger, Boca Tigris. The entrance of the Canton river is divided by the Wantong Islands into two channels, the eastern of which is used by vessels of large draught, and is named Boca Tigris. It is defended by formidable fortifications.

P. 453. *Chevalier de Roche.* M. François Julien Dudresnay, le Chevalier Desroches, Governor-General of the islands of France and Bourbon, formerly Governor of Pondicherry.

P. 453. *Lieutenant Kreguelin.* The well-known navigator and discoverer, Yves Joseph de Kerguélen Trémarec, after whom Kerguelen Island is named.

P. 454. *St. Helaira.* Evidently a misprint for St. Helena.

P. 456. *His Majesty.* The King of France at this time was Louis XV., who died May 10, 1774, being succeeded by his grandson, Louis XVI.

P. 458. *The recruits.* M. de Kerguélen writes very scornfully regarding these precious volunteer recruits of Benyowsky : " Mais c'étoit des enfants, des polissons, des décroteurs du pont neuf."

P. 464. *Mr. de Ternay.* M. le Chevalier d'Arzac de Ternay, a distinguished naval officer, the successor of M. Desroches.

P. 464. *Mr. Maillart.* M. Maillard Dumesle, who succeeded M. Poivre as Intendant of the Isle of France, where he arrived with M. Desroches.

P. 470. *Mr. de Bellecombe.* General de Bellecombe, who was wounded before Quebec, and had been Commandant of the island of Bourbon. He was afterwards Commandant-General of the French establishments in India, and defended Pondicherry against General Munro. He was subsequently Governor-General of St. Domingo.

P. 472. *King Hyavi.* Hiàvy or Hoàvy was the son of the late Andriàmanhary, chief of those Bètsimisarakas who inhabited Foule Point and its vicinity. Andriàmanhary was slain by the Manivolo in 1767, and his son Hiàvy succeeded to a moiety of his possessions.

P. 473. *Bay of Antongil.* Antongil Bay is a broad, deep inlet, between Capes Bellone and Baldrisy, named after Antonio Gil, its discoverer. At the head of the bay lies Nòsy Marosy. The spot where Benyowsky placed his colony is on the western spit at the mouth of the Antanabalana river.

P. 477. *River Tingballe.* The Tsingambàla river, now known as the Antanabalana river, flows into Antongil Bay, and the anchorage at its mouth is called Port Choiseul. All traces of Benyowsky's Louisbourg have disappeared. The river has been surveyed by Mr. Ransome. See Map, *Proc. R.G.S.*, May 1889.

P. 479. *Sagaye.* The spear used by the Malagasy throughout the island.

P. 481. *Tanguin.* The Tangèna, a shrub, of whose fruit the juice of the kernel is used as the famous poison, administered as an ordeal of guilt in Madagascar (*Tanghinia venenifera*).

P. 483. *St Mary.* Ste. Marie (in native Malagasy, Nòsy Boràha or Nòsy Ibrahim) is a narrow island 30 miles long, 2 miles broad, lying parallel to the east coast of Madagascar, inhabited by Bètsimisarakas. It was ceded to the French by Bèty, daughter of the chief Ratsimilàhy, in 1750.

P. 486. *Bombatok.* Bèmbatòka Bay is a wide basin with a narrow inlet from the sea, into which the river Bètsibòka flows, on the north-west coast of Madagascar.

P. 486. *The Sieur Mayeur.* M. Mayeur was, for thirty years (1758–1787), an interpreter belonging to the French establishment at Foule Point, and was the first traveller to traverse Imerina, the land of the Hovas, and to describe their superiority to the other tribes.

P. 487. *The island d'Aiguillon.* This is the name which was given by Benyowsky to Nòsy Marosy, in Antongil Bay. It is 2½ miles long, with bold shores.

P. 491. *Galliots.* A Dutch vessel carrying a main-mast, a mizen-mast, and a large gaff mainsail.

P. 492. *The Seclaves.* The Sàkalavà, or western tribes, are divided into two main portions, those of Ménabé to the south and those of Iboina to the north. They are far more savage and warlike than the milder inhabitants of the east coast.

P. 493. *Banquette.* A banquette is a step in rear of a parapet, to enable the defenders to stand high enough to fire over it.

P. 495. *Chargeable.* Unprofitable.

P. 503. *Gum-guttæ. Gomme goutte*, or gamboge, produced by many species of Guttiferæ in Madagascar, such as *Symphonia clusioides* and others.

P. 510. *The island Nossebe.* See also p. 547. Nòsy-Bé is situated off the north-west of Madagascar, in 13° 23′ S. lat., 48° 16′ E. long. It was subject to the Sàkalavàs on the neighbouring coast. It is 12 miles long and 10 miles broad.

P. 512. *Itinerary or journal.* Some of these itineraries, notably those of M. Mayeur, are preserved in the British Museum, and have been published by M. Alfred Grandidier.

P. 516. *Ramini.* The Zafind'Raminia, according to tradition, descend from an Arab chief named Raminia, who first went with his sister, Rahavinia, to India, thence to one of the Comoro Islands, and finally landed at Vohemar, on the north-east coast of Madagascar.

P. 516. *Ampansacabe.* Mpanjaka Bé, signifying great lord or ruler.

P. 517. *Toises.* The French toise equals 6 pieds, and is equivalent to 70·864 English inches, or 5 feet 10⅝ inches.

P. 518. *Bojana.* Boina Bay, 15 miles west of Bembatoka Bay.

P. 526. *Fariavas and Betalimenes.* Tribe about Fenoarivo, and the Betanimena tribe.

P. 537. *Pateraroes—large pieces.* The pateraroes (see above, p. 371) can only be termed large pieces in comparison with the muskets.

P. 556. *Periagua.* A canoe. See above, p. 403.

P. 558. *Death of Louis XV.* Louis XV. died May 10, 1774; but Benyowsky seems not to have heard of it until December 27, 1775.

# NOTES

P. 560. *Fangafondi.* Fanafody (*Mpanao ody*), Malagasy for medicine, or remedy of any kind, which the natives regard as a talisman or charm against disease.

P. 563. *A banion.* Banyan or banian, Indian traders from Bombay, who had long frequented these coasts.

P. 566. *Benjamin.* Gum benzoin (*Styrax benzoin*).

P. 605. *Ombiassobe.* The Ombiasse was a diviner.

P. 606. *Veloun.* "Veloma," signifying "Long live!"

P. 606. *Rohandriani*, etc. The Zafferahimini, according to Rochon—a contemporary of Benyowsky—are divided into three classes: the Rhoandrians, who are the nobility of the country; the Anacandrians, descended from Rhoandrians and women of an inferior class; and the Ontzatsi, the last class, mostly warriors. The native blacks are divided into four classes: the Voadziri, claiming to be the descendants of the ancient sovereigns, the Lohavohits, who are less powerful, head-men of villages; next, the Ontzoa, who have no particular authority; and finally the Ondeva, or slaves.

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